Verfasser: Adler

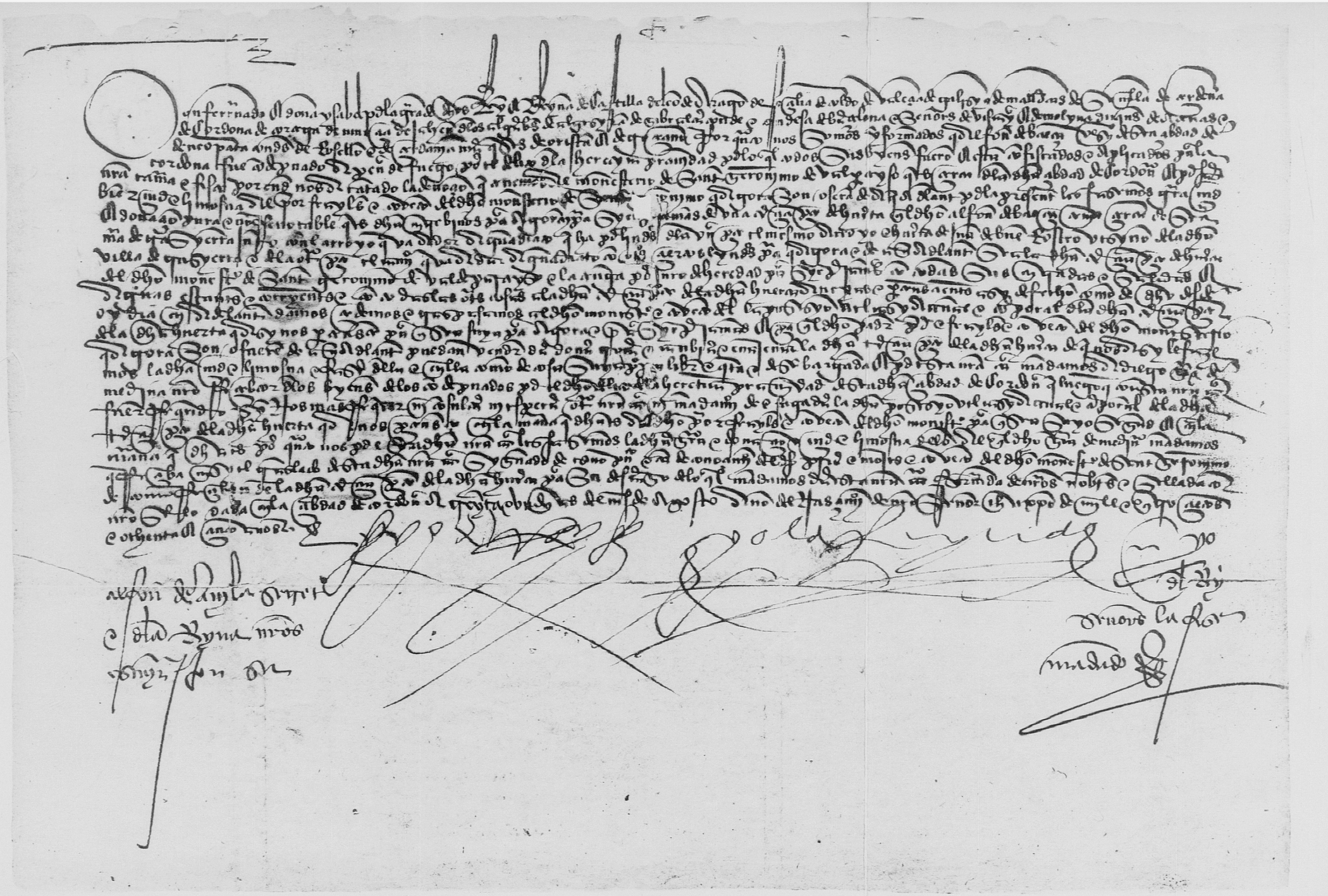
Titel: Auto

Signatur: Jud. 2233

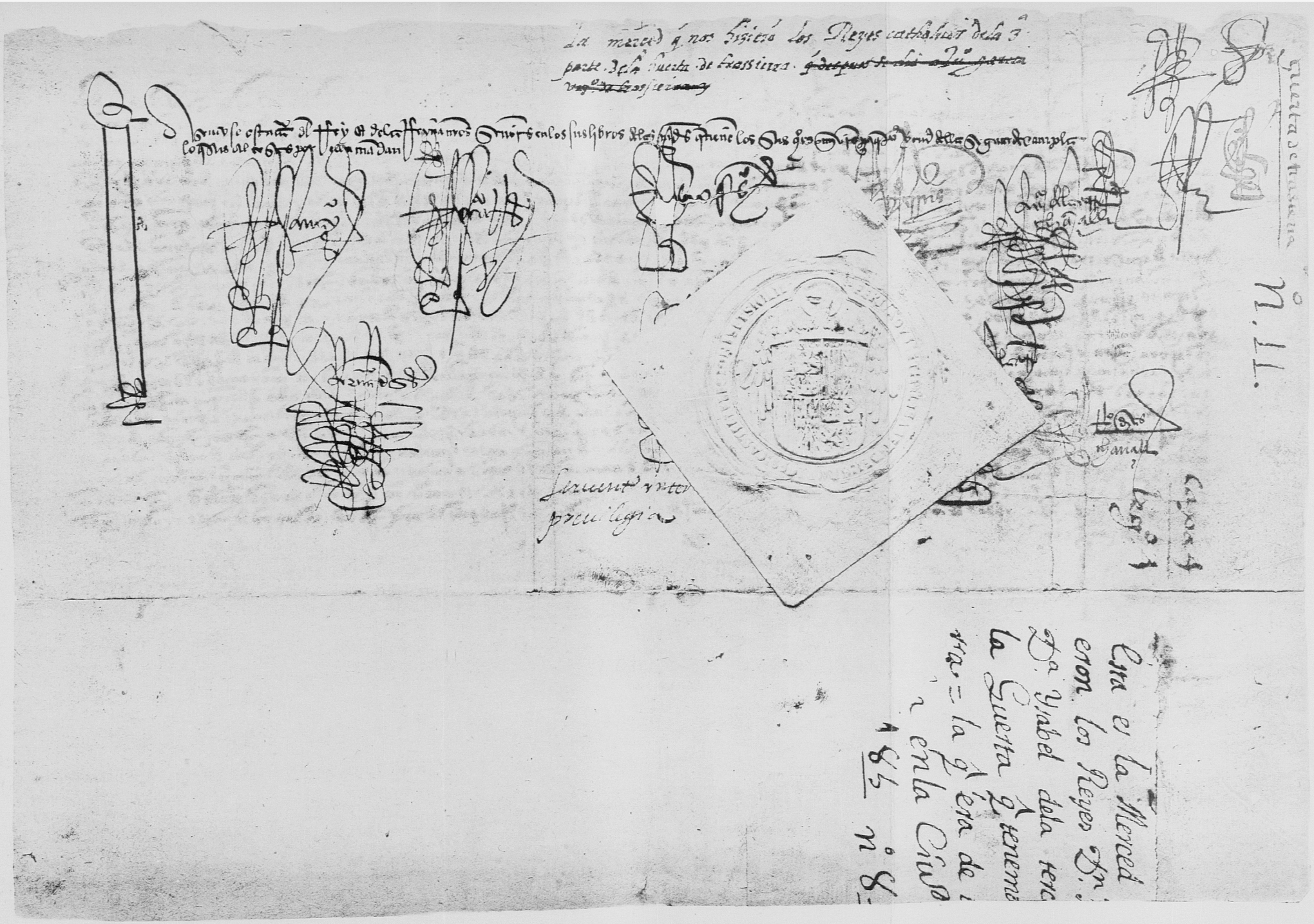
Band:

nbn:de:hebis:30-180012233007

0 0 1 2 2 3 3 0 0 7



GRANT BY FERDINAND AND ISABELLA (AUTOGRAPH), TO A CORDOVA MONASTERY, OF PROPERTY CONFISCATED BY THE INQUISITION (RECTO).



GRANT BY FERDINAND AND ISABELLA (AUTOGRAPH), TO A CORDOVA MONASTERY, OF PROPERTY CONFISCATED BY THE INQUISITION (VERSO).

AUTO DE FÉ
AND JEW

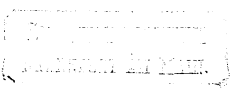
BY

ELKAN NATHAN ADLER

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

HENRY FROWDE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW
NEW YORK AND TORONTO
1908

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY



A LA

REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA
DE ESPAÑA

EN RECONOCIMIENTO DE LOS SERVICIOS QUE ELLA
PRESTA EN PRO DE LA ILUSTRACIÓN, DEL
PROGRESO Y DE LA TOLERANCIA

DEDICA EL PRESENTE ESTUDIO

SU AGRADECIDO SOCIO CORRESPONDIENTE

E. N. ADLER

PREFACE

In the following chapters the writer has attempted to sketch the effect of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, more particularly in regard to the Crypto-Jews who came within its purview, and to collect data as to its outward expression, as evinced in the auto de fé. Lists have been compiled which set forth in chronological order the various autos which took place in Spain and Portugal and their American and Indian colonies since the establishment of the Holy Office, under Ferdinand and Isabella, until its final abolition, early in the nineteenth century. Though necessarily incomplete, these lists comprise nearly 2,000 autos de fé—a number far in excess of anything hitherto recorded—and they will serve, in some measure, as a reliable indication of inquisitional activity. It was at first contemplated to restrict the lists to such autos only as were known to have penanced Jews, but, as the manuscript and printed material accumulated, it was felt that the compilation would be more useful if it were made as complete as possible. Mohammedan, Lutheran, Philosopher, Mystic, and Freemason were, in turn, the peculiar objects of the heretic baiters, but there was no interval of any appreciable length during which there were not some Judaizers deemed worthy of punishment and persecution. Still it must not be assumed that at every auto de fé a Jew was butchered. Lea, the historian of the Inquisition, has in his epoch-making works thrown new light on the subject he has made his own. Chapters IX to XXXVI are devoted to an examination, and partly a précis, of what he has written. The

greater part of the matter now set forth appeared in a series of articles in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, the editors of which have been good enough to sanction their republication. It is owing to this fact that the tables contained in Chapters XXXVII to XLV are five too many, but it is hoped that, as the supplemented lists are arranged together, the slight inconvenience thereby entailed will be pardoned in view of the heavy cost that must have been incurred if they had been amalgamated and set up again in type.

To Dr. Lea for valued help throughout the researches of which this little volume is the outcome, and to the Royal Academy of History of Spain, whose publications have been extremely valuable, and to whom the volume is dedicated, the writer wishes to express his most grateful thanks. Particular obligations are acknowledged in the passages where they arise.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	PREFACE	5
I.	MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN SPAIN AFTER THE EXPULSION	9
II.	TUDOR ENGLAND, SPAIN, AND THE JEWS	19
III.	THE REYES CATÓLICOS AND THE INQUISITION	23
IV.	CHARLES THE FIFTH	26
V.	EMBASSY FROM JEWS IN INDIA	29
VI.	DAVID REUBENI IN PORTUGAL	33
VII.	THE SECOND EXPULSION	36
VIII.	STATISTICS OF AUTOS AND THEIR VICTIMS	39
IX.	LEA ON THE INQUISITION OF SPAIN	41
X.	CHURCH AND STATE	43
XI.	JEWS AND THE CANON LAW	44
XII.	JUDERIAS AND CONVERSOS	46
XIII.	MEDIAEVAL PERSECUTIONS	47
XIV.	DECLINE OF JEWISH POPULATION	51
XV.	TORQUEMADA AND THE EXPULSION	53
XVI.	JUDAIZERS	56
XVII.	INQUISITION ESTABLISHED	57
XVIII.	HEBREW PRINTING IN SPAIN	59
XIX.	PROCEDURE, JURISDICTION, CONFISCATIONS	60
XX.	RESISTANCE TO THE INQUISITION: LUCERO, CHARLES V	63
XXI.	ASSASSINATION OF ARBUES: CATALONIA AND THE BALEARIC ISLES	67
XXII.	LEO X: COMBINATION OF SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL POWER	69
XXIII.	REFORMS ATTEMPTED, PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS: BENEFIT OF CLERGY	71
XXIV.	CONFLICT WITH COURTS SPIRITUAL AND SECULAR, THE JUNTA MAGNA	74
XXV.	ABUSES, TORTURE	76
XXVI.	JEWS IN PORTUGAL, OVERTURES FOR TOLERATION	79
XXVII.	THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF PORTUGAL AND IMMIGRATION OF PORTUGUESE JEWS INTO SPAIN	84
XXVIII.	NEGOTIATIONS FOR A GENERAL PARDON, AGITATION TO EXPEL NEW CHRISTIANS	85

PAGE

XXIX. Influx of Marranos into Western Europe . 87
XXX. Portuguese in Spain 89
XXXI. Exclusion of Foreign Jews from Spain . 90
XXXII. Moriscos and Lutherans, Criminals, Mystics 92
XXXIII. Royal Piety, Recrudescence of Activity in 1720 95
XXXIV. Commercial Disadvantages 97
XXXV. Lea's Statistics 99
XXXVI. Kindred Works by Lea 103
XXXVII. Table of Autos de Fé celebrated in Spain . 106
XXXVIII. Supplementary Table 124
XXXIX. Some Toledo Autos 128
XL. Further Autos celebrated in Spain . . 133
XLI. Table of Autos celebrated in Portugal and its Colonies 139
XLII. Portuguese Autos 145
XLIII. Supplementary List of Portuguese Autos . 147
XLIV. Autos in Lima and Cartagena de las Indias . 152
XLV. Autos in Mexico 153
XLVI. Documents as to the Mexican Inquisition . 156
XLVII. Italian Records 162
XLVIII. Comparative Annals 164
XLIX. Dr. Lea's Criticisms 167
L. Two Jewish Documents 170
LI. The Story of José Diaz Pimienta . . . 172
LII. Some Authorities 181
LIII. The Bibliography of Mendes dos Remedios . 190

FACSIMILES

Grant by Ferdinand and Isabella (autograph), to a Cordova Monastery, of property confiscated by the Inquisition (verso) . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Grant by Ferdinand and Isabella (autograph), to a Cordova Monastery, of property confiscated by the Inquisition (recto) . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Letter from the Toledo Inquisition to the Council General, covering 'Relacion' of the auto de fé of 13 June, 1570 *to face* 17

Title page to 'Relacion' of auto de fé at Cordova of 29 June, 1665 164

Title-page of Sermon preached at Coimbra on the occasion of the auto de fé of 21 March, 1619 . . . . *to face* 168

AUTO DE FÉ AND JEW

I.

Materials for the History of the Jews in Spain after the Expulsion.

The year 1882, which witnessed an exodus *en masse* of Jewish refugees from Russia—an exodus which found their brethren totally unprepared for their reception—was brightened by one remarkable gleam of national justice which does not merit the oblivion into which it seems to have fallen.

Spain, once cruel and persecuting, opened her doors to the fugitives. Her hidalgos eagerly invited them to Madrid, and her great ladies were so impatient to receive them that batches of Russian Jews, totally unfit for the experiment, were dumped into Madrid by the organizing committees in Germany. The distinguished visitors were treated as the pampered pets of the proudest palaces, and fêted till they lost what slight desire for new work they had brought with them. The experiment as such was a disastrous, an ominous, failure. The disappointment was perhaps more keenly felt by the Spaniards than ourselves. But the incident is notable in history as manifesting something more than a sentimental wish to repair a great historical wrong. The nineteenth century, though it left Spain poorer in territory, marks an epoch more honourable and more promising than the century which added a New World to her dominions.

The Inquisition is not Spanish. As a clerical tribunal the Holy Office existed hundreds of years before the *Reyes*

Católicos, and indeed in a much mitigated form it still exists. It is the Inquisition at Rome which to this very day exorcises nascent literature and makes additions to the Index Expurgatorius. Nor were its pains and penalties less terrible in the ancient pre-expulsion times. At one of the earliest autos de fé recorded in history, that at Troyes in 1288, thirteen Jews were burnt at the stake as heretics. And it will be seen that in Spain itself similar executions were perpetrated in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries in the sacred name of Christianity. But the general notion of what "Inquisition" means practically confines it to the merciless tribunal constituted under Ferdinand and Isabella with the grudging assent of the Pope. It was a political rather than a religious institution. Once established in the Peninsula, it remained practically independent of Rome and derived its authority from the catholic king.

Ferdinand himself, though he swept the Peninsula of the Moors and banished the Jews, was by no means the deeply religious sovereign whom history loves to depict. But little was wanting and he would have established a church of his own, as Henry the Eighth did here in England. Don Adolpho de Castro in his *History of the Jews in Spain* quotes a letter from Ferdinand to Count Oribargaza, his viceroy in Naples, dated Burgos the 22nd of May, 1508, in which the king declares his "positive determination, should His Holiness refuse to revoke the breach as well as the acts performed by his authority, to deprive him of the obedience now paid him by the realms of Castile and Arragon." The same author quotes Machiavelli's view (*The Prince*, cap. 21) that "the king with a view of attempting still greater undertakings artfully concealed his design under the mask of religion, and by means of a cruel piety drove the Marranos[1] out of his dominions, a stroke of policy truly deplorable and unexampled."

[1] "Marrani." By a curious slip De Castro's translator, Mr. Kirwan, translates Marrani as Moors.

This is not the place to investigate all the motives that prompted Ferdinand and Isabella to issue their famous decrees for the expulsion of the Jews and the establishment of the Inquisition. These measures presented two sides of the same policy. Spain was to be purged of all Jews, whether professing or not. Those who were ostensibly Jews were caught by the decree for their expulsion, and those who outwardly conformed to Christianity, the new Christians, or Marranos, were caught in the net of the Inquisition, and the heavy cost of the king's conquests was met both by the direct confiscation of the Jews' property, which they were forced to leave behind, and by the king's "third" of all property confiscated by the Inquisition. An autograph grant of such a third in favour of a famous monastery in Cordova is reproduced in facsimile by way of frontispiece to this book.

It will be seen that the Marranos were not the only Jewish victims who fell into the clutches of the Inquisition. Secret tribunal though it was, it periodically published reports of the result of its investigations and deliberations. This resultant was its sentence, its action, its act of faith. Whenever an "auto de fé"[1] was held, a *Relacion*[2] or Report was circulated, sometimes by way of programme before the celebration, but invariably afterwards. Generally it was printed, and sometimes printed in several editions and in different places. The object of such a *Relacion* was two-fold—external and internal. Its external object was to benefit the public, as being calculated to promote religious conformity, and perhaps also by way of pandering to the sensational appetites of the thousands who had witnessed, and the tens of thousands who would have liked to witness, the solemn and exciting "act of faith." But it had also an

[1] It is usual to write "auto da fé," the Portuguese form. The Spaniards, however, always say "auto de fé," or "auto de fee."

[2] Portuguese "Relaçao," a term likewise applied to similar accounts of a Bull Fight, e. g. "Relaçao nova e verdadeira noticia das magnificas festas de Touros . . . Lisboa, 1763."

internal object, calculated for the better ordering of the process of the Ecclesiastic Courts. There were at first five, but afterwards fifteen, tribunals of the Inquisition in Spain alone, and it was the duty of each to communicate its sentences to the central organization as well as to other tribunals within whose purview it was likely that its own prisoners might come after they had served their term of punishment. The Inquisition did not always hand over its victims to the secular arm, but it had no mercy for the "relapsed" who, having been "reconciled" or "penitenced," were afterwards caught judaizing again. The nets of the Inquisition were cunningly devised and its meshes exceeding small. Thus in the trial of Gabriel de Granada the sentence, probably in common form, directed as follows: "In order that in case of contravention the said Gabriel de Granada may be proceeded against as an 'impenitente' a relation of this his sentence and condemnation shall be sent with his description and age to the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Lord Inquisitor-General, and Lords of the Council of His Majesty of the Holy and General Inquisition, and to the Tribunals of the said Inquisition of Seville, and of the Cities of Lima and Carthagena in these said West Indies[1]."

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the ideas of Rousseau and Voltaire as to the Rights of Man began to percolate to the very extremities of Europe, the authorities of the Inquisition became more chary of publicity because fearful of criticism. A writer even in the nineteenth century remarks on the absence of data and particulars about the "autos de fé" as due to people avoiding the subject for fear of excommunication[2]. There is accordingly

[1] Vide Fergusson, *Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, VII, 127. Similarly Jacobs quotes from a MS., "On January 11, 1721, Toledo sends to Saragossa the testifications of same witnesses."

[2] *Jud. Sev.*, p. 56, "en casi todas las historias sevillanas han omitido sus autores dar noticia de ellos (los autos publicos), sin duda temerosos de alguna excomunion mayor."

a quite astonishing dearth of material and statistics of the doings of the Holy Office. Many of the documents have been burnt by friends and enemies[1] of the Inquisition alike, much still remains buried in the inaccessible vaults of archiepiscopal and other libraries. A recent enactment, however, in quite a modern spirit, directs that all the cartularies and deeds belonging to the monasteries of Spain shall be handed over to the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, so that the way is no longer quite barred to what Joseph Jacobs calls "one of the great desiderata of Jewish Literature—an adequate history of the Marranos or secret Jews of the Peninsula."

The historian is too apt to assume that Ferdinand's anti-semitic policy was induced by the conduct of the Jews and Marranos themselves. This is an assumption which the apologists of the Inquisition are only too glad to encourage. Even Abrahams, in his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, says that the Marranos as "half-hearted converts . . . proved a fertile danger to the Jews. Their constant relapses into Judaism strengthened the arm of the Inquisition and finally led to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain." Such a view appears to fail in perspective. The Marranos of 1391 and 1413 may have been the Inquisitor's excuse, but they were not in any sense the cause of the expulsion. The expulsion did not affect them, the Inquisition did. Again, it is a common belief that the Marranos were gradually and soon exterminated by the Holy Office, after which it was held to justify its survival by the war it waged against the Lutherans afterwards, and then by that against the Philosophers and Freemasons. As a matter of fact, Judaizers continued to be the Inquisitor's prey as long as the Spanish Inquisition lasted, and indeed, as will be seen, the number of Jewish victims in the beginning of the eighteenth century was wellnigh as great as in the end of the fifteenth. Mr. F. D. Mocatta, in his *Jews and the*

[1] e.g. Llorente.

Inquisition, an admirable sketch of the subject, repeats the common error that the last occasion on which a human being was "burnt alive in the name of the faith" was at Seville in 1781; but it will be seen that so late as August 1, 1826, at Valencia a Judaizer was burnt alive and a Protestant schoolmaster garrotted.

Delightful visits to the south of Spain during the years 1900 and 1903 gave me an opportunity to search for Hebraica and Judaica. The former quest proved very barren and produced little to add to Neubauer's previous discoveries. But my hunt for historical material led to results the more welcome that they were so unexpected after the exhaustive investigations of Kayserling and Jacobs in the same field. In the first place it disclosed a quite remarkable local interest in matters relating to Spanish Jews. A glance at the two bibliographies in the supplement will satisfy anybody that the Jews are nowadays exciting much attention in the Peninsula. The large production of books about them is evidence of a corresponding demand on the part of the public[1]. Again, there are original documents of the greatest interest and importance still to be acquired at reasonable prices in Seville, Granada, and especially in Madrid[2]. The secularization of the monasteries has thrown a quantity of archives into private hands. One of these is reproduced here in facsimile. It is an autograph grant dated August 31, 1485, by Ferdinand and Isabella, signed "Yo el Rey" (I the King) and "Yo la Reyna" (I the Queen), and deals with the confiscated property of Alphon de Baena or Baeza (?), who suffered the "pena de fuego" shortly after the establishment of

[1] That this interest in Jewish matters is still alive is evidenced by the following extract from a Madrid publisher's catalogue dated March, 1901. "Ibn-Gebirol (Aven-Cebrol). La fuente de la vida: traducida en el siglo XII por Juan Hispano y Domingo González, del árabe al latín, y ahora por primera vez al castellano por Federico de Castro y Fernández. Tratado I y II. Madrid, *Serra*, 1901; en 8.°, 160 páginas é índice, 2 pts."

[2] Among these documents we managed to secure five State Papers dealing with the Spanish Armada, and signed by Philip II.

the Inquisition. No doubt the victim was a Judaizer, and possibly a son or relative of a famous New Christian, Juan Alphon de Baena, a poet and anthologist who flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century. Then again, in Seville, lives S^r D^n Francisco Palamares, doctor, schoolmaster, and Lutheran minister, who has a unique collection of documents, books, and curios dealing with the Inquisition, and who proved of the greatest service, both through direct suggestion and because his own treasures gave one a clue to others similarly useful and desirable. Señor Palamares is himself a characteristic son of the new Spain. He is a Protestant convert from Catholicism, and keeps a school of heretics, mostly Protestant, but with some thirty little Jewish children among its pupils.

The nineteenth century has been very fruitful in strife over the Spanish Church in general and the Inquisition in particular. Nor has it been only a Battle of the Books. The Peninsular War lasted from 1808 till 1814. The national constitution was promulgated at Cadiz in 1812, when the Inquisition was suppressed, though it was not till February 22, 1813, that the Córtes passed the formal law for its abolition. In 1814 the French were expelled and the War of Liberation ended in the restoration of Ferdinand VII. On July 21, 1814, His Catholic Majesty reinstates the Inquisition—a curious result of the success of the British arms[1]! Another revolution ensued from 1820 to 1823, and on March 9, 1820, the Inquisition was abolished for the second time. On October 1, 1823, a "contra revolucion" restored the king and re-established the Inquisition. Ferdinand died in 1833, and with him his

[1] A historic parallel is provided by the activity of the Inquisition in France in 1430, after Agincourt. "L'inquisition en France favorisée par la domination anglaise" is the keynote of a paragraph on the "Procès de Jeanne d'Arc" in the third volume of the *Notice des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. The Bishop of Beauvais is required "agir avec l'inquisiteur de la foi; et c'est ainsi que la France aurait gémi sous les loix monstrueuses de l'inquisition si elle était restée sous la domination angloise."

reactionary rule; and on July 15, 1834, the Queen Regent Maria Cristina, in the name of her daughter Queen Isabella the Second, abolished the Inquisition in Spain for the third and last time.

Is it the last time? One would have thought so, and so one can but hope. But there are ominous signs of an unwelcome reaction. Spanish marriages are historic dangers, and an Infanta's recent marriage in Spain was no exception to the rule. Its unpopularity in the cities of Spain seemed due to a widespread fear of Jesuit supremacy. And two works[1] in defence of the Inquisition have appeared in the last quarter of a century, which certainly lend colour to such fears. The one is ostensibly by a Jesuit Father, the other is issued under ecclesiastical sanction. Both are intended for the "cristiano imparcial," and protest against the "lies," by which are meant "exaggerations," of Llorente and the other historians of the Inquisition.

Apart, therefore, from the historical parallels so unfortunately presented by the present state of Russia and Roumania, it cannot be deemed untimely or out of place if a first attempt be made to collect and tabulate from the various sources the facts about the doings of the Holy Office, and therefrom to draw some conclusions as to the history of the Jews in Spain after the expulsion. Such conclusions should be the more valuable that it is a current fallacy that Spain has for four centuries been swept clear of its Jews, whereas, what with those left behind and the many thousands repatriated, there always have been large numbers of them with synagogues, rituals, customs, and literature, their existence a secret indeed, but an open secret.

The accompanying Tables of "autos de fé" set forth in the successive columns (i) the date and (ii) place of the auto, (iii) the source which is the authority for its inclusion in the list, (iv) the number of "reos" prisoners or victims at such auto, (v) the number of Jews ("Judaizantes" or

[1] Vide LII, "Authorities," sub voce Rodrigo and Cappa.

D.ca S. enm.d a 19 de junio 1570.

Muy yll.es mos 2.o 88.

El auto dela fe sea celebrado con la mayor quietud y Authoridad que A sido posible de que creemos sea seruido mucho N.ro S.r y las causas que enel se An despachado vera V.S. por el memorial que va con esta y tambien enbiamos Relacion de las causas despachadas fuera de Auto y de los presos que quedan en esta Jnq.on Suplicamos A V.S. por m.d Auentajada para los officiales pues el cuydado y solicitud y diligencia con que trabajan merece toda la q. se les hiziere

Pedro de mora Ayudante de Alcayde sirue tambien en offic.o que sobliga A que Suplicamos A V.S. se le haga la m.d de ayuda de costa que otras veces se le a hecho y mas si fuere posible porque sera enel muy bien empleada N.ro S.r las m.as y yll.es personas de V.S. 2.o de Jun.o y dignidad acreçan.s en T.o 13. de junio 1570.

Besan las manos de V.S.

Fr.co de Velorado

Alonso de Vlloa

LETTER FROM THE TOLEDO INQUISITION TO THE COUNCIL GENERAL, COVERING 'RELACION' OF THE AUTO-DE-FÉ OF 18 JUNE, 1570.

"Judios") thereat, and (vi) finally such few remarks or memoranda in connexion therewith as could be compressed into the space at disposal. These headings speak for themselves, but with regard to sources something more must be said. Primarily these consist of the original *Relacions* and *Listas*[1] published at the time or republished and extant in public libraries or in those of Lea, Palamares or the writer. Such *Relacions* often contain references to previous "autos de fé," at which the prisoner, generally a relapsed Marrano, now handed over to the secular arm for execution, ("relaxado"), had been punished and given another chance. These references constitute another class of authority. Then come from Seville and Cordova two books containing collections of autos celebrated in those cities[2]. Next follow the historians of the Inquisition, generally cited under the authors' names, and herein, be it noted, the apologists of the Inquisition are, for obvious reasons, relied on rather than its enemies, so that e. g. Rodrigo is more often quoted than Llorente. Lastly, we have various authorities derived from the literature on the subject, a list which is appended as a supplement entitled "Authorities."

The Tables are of course extremely, but perhaps not hopelessly, inadequate. They are intentionally limited to Spain and Portugal, and some use has been made of the immense material in the Archaeological Museum[3] at Madrid. The collection there is concentrated, listed, and in course of publication. It deals mainly with the Tribunals of Toledo, Valencia, Rioja, and Logroño. The excellent organization at the Museum should make his task easy who in future attempts to supplement our list from that source. Tribunals foreign to Spain and Portugal and their Colonies are not dealt with here. The fascinat-

[1] Vide LII, "Authorities," sub voce "Auto de Fé."

[2] Vide LII, "Authorities," sub voce "Juderia de Sevilla," and "Coleccion de Autos de Fé, Cordova."

[3] Vide LII, "Authorities," sub voce "Archivo Historico Nacional."

ing subject of the Inquisition in South America has been admirably handled by J. T. Medina[1] in his various works, and has also been treated by the American Jewish Historical Society. So far as Portugal is concerned, the Royal Library at Lisbon possesses rich material. In the "Collection Moreira" in that library the custodians preserve with great reverence three stout folio volumes endorsed Lisboa, Evora, and Coimbra, and containing "Listas" of the prisoners at the "autos de fé" respectively celebrated in those the three seats of the Holy Office in Portugal. There are said to be three similar folios in the Library at Evora containing such "Listas," some written and some printed. That our Table is limited to "autos de fé" and not extended to all Inquisition trials is due to the limitations of space and time. Every auto is the expression of the result of many trials, numerous adjournments, and the depositions of countless witnesses. The trials were secret and squalid, the essence of the auto was its publicity and pomp. And the Auto as such is, like the Bull Fight, an essential characteristic for the "Cultur-Geschichte" of Spain.

[1] Vide LII, "Authorities," sub voce "Medina."

II.

TUDOR ENGLAND, SPAIN, AND THE JEWS.

ENGLISHMEN must regard with interest the part played by Jews in the royal divorce which convulsed Europe, offended Spain, and led to the establishment of the English Church by Henry VIII. Jews in Venice, Bologna, and Rome were consulted on the divorce case by Stokesley, the king's solicitor, during the year 1530. Chapuys writes[1] to Charles V to tell how King Henry had sent a dispatch to Rome, "to bring over an old Jew, now here, who says he can prove incontrovertibly that the king's marriage (to Katharine of Arragon, the betrothed of his deceased brother) was unlawful," and Chapuys goes on to say that he has "advised Messire Mai of this, so that should the Jew be a man of such learning and parts as to inspire confidence, he (Mai) may prevail on the Pope to stop his coming (to England), at least until his arguments have been heard," so that Bishop Gardiner might be instructed how to reply to them.

A little later on Messire Mai writes[2] to the Emperor that "Your Majesty will be glad to hear that this very year one among the Roman Jews has been compelled to marry his brother's widow—not only not prohibited, but actually enjoined by Jewish law,"—a curious instance of the irony of fate—a Spanish king, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, trying to save his sister from divorce by appeal to the Jewish law of יבום (levirate) as practised in the ghetto.

Later on the "Jew in Rome is to be brought over to

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), 1531-33, 61, 552, 869.

[2] Ibid., 739; and see Lucien Wolf's paper on "Anglo-Jewish History, 1290-1656" in the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers, and the authorities there cited, including an entry how Henry "sware to persecute without mercy any cursed Jew in his dominions."

England[1]." Then Charles the Fifth's faithful servant promptly reports that, "the king takes with him to Calais a legion of doctors and priests who hold for the divorce, and likewise the Jew who came from Venice at his bidding[1]."

The British Museum has a responsum on the subject, by one of the Rabbis whom the king consulted, which has been published by Kaufmann[2]. The Rev. Michael Adler, in his history of the "Domus Conversorum," gives several instances of references to Jews in England during the Tudor period[3]. Between 1492 and 1581 two Jews and five Jewesses were admitted to the Domus as converts—all of them seem to have come from the Peninsula. Elizabeth Portingale (i.e. of Portugal) was the first, and reached London in the very year of the expulsion from Spain, Menda (Mendes?) and Massa were the last.

Shortly after the divorce had been settled in a manner unsatisfactory to Spain, trouble began with the ill-treatment of English subjects by the Inquisition. These were mostly seamen adventuring on the Spanish Main. In 1534 we read of two Englishmen imprisoned for having heretical books in their possession, and throughout the remainder of Henry's reign, and the whole of Elizabeth's, there are constant references and protests to such violation of the Law of Nations, and as Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* testifies, many Lutherans were burnt at the stake. Thus we read of Englishmen who go to Spain to trade, and English prisoners of the Inquisition at Seville, and Queen Elizabeth sending Sir John Smith to Spain on a mission respecting them[5], and English merchants trafficking with Spain presenting a petition concerning the Inquisition in 1576[6].

[1] *Cal. of State Papers*, ibid., p. 761, and ibid., p. 535.

[2] Ar. Or. 151, quoted in *Revue des Études Juives*, XXX, 309.

[3] *Exchequer Accounts*, Bundles 253, Nos. 8, 17, and 15; 254, No. 3; 255, Nos. 10 and 11, and *Foreign and Domestic Papers*, 24 Henry VIII.

[4] *State Papers* (Spanish), 1534, pp. 164, 296, 412.

[5] Ibid. (Spanish), 1568–79, pp. 105, 536, &c.

[6] Ibid. (Foreign), 1575–77, No. 1132.

Throughout this period Jews, mostly from Spain and Portugal, seem to have come to England for the purposes of commerce, and some to have settled here. Theoretically any Jew's property was forfeit to the Crown, in practice he was left alone, and the police and the neighbours seem to have connived at his presence. Nathaniel Menda, the convert above referred to, was six years in London before his conversion, poor but unmolested. Lee has shown how a Spanish Jew, Lopes, practised here as Elizabeth's physician. Even a cursory investigation of our official records shows other instances. Thus in the Acts of the Privy Council[1] we read of a "Dispute between the King and certeyne marchawntes strawngers probably suspected to be Juis." These are later on described as "Portugalles suspected of Judaisme," and were ultimately, in 1542, declared to be Christian men. In 1543 we read of Portuguese Jews imprisoned in London and released by special request of the King and Queen of Portugal[2]! Again one Henry Alveros or Alvaros (Alvarez?) is in 1546 able to disprove a similar charge, and at a council holden at Hampton Court a man was purged of the charge of "defrauding the King's Majesty of his interest in the goods of Alveros in case he had been proved a Jewe."

Alvarez was more fortunate than "Doctour Arnande" (Fernandez?) who in 1562 was tried by the Privy Council, "esteemed to be a Jewe and judged to ryde through the streetes in a carte[3]" by way of punishment and disgrace.

The troublous and anxious time prior to the defeat of the Spanish Armada was occupied by England in various negotiations with the enemies of Spain. Then, as now, Constantinople was a hotbed of intrigue, but the Turk was a strong man then and in the refugees from the Peninsula he had shrewd and trusty advisers. It is not generally known that Rabbi Solomon, the Portuguese Jew,

[1] New Series, vol. I, 1542-47, pp. 76, 94, 222, 294, 305-7.
[2] *State Papers* (Spanish), 1542-43, p. 270.
[3] *Acts of Privy Council*, 1547-50, p. 28.

was the honest broker of the first Anglo-Turkish Alliance in 1587. The Venetian delegate at Constantinople writes to the Doge and Senate: "Since the news of the defeat of the English . . . the English Ambassador frequents the houses of the Pashas . . . and of the Jew, Salamon the Portuguese, who is well acquainted with Indian affairs. Sultan promises fleet to annoy the King of Spain and give satisfaction to the English[1]."

Next year saw the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and England could do without Turkish help, but even in 1599 Elizabeth corresponds with another Turkish official, also a refugee from Spain, but this time a Jewess—Esperanza Malchi, the Sultana's secretary[2]. A year or two previously, as Graetz recounts, the lovely Maria Nunez and a whole shipload of fugitive Marranos were captured by the English, and received so graciously by the Queen that Maria Nunez had the refusal of the hand of an English duke!

[1] *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian), 1581–91, p. 324.

[2] Ellis, *Letters illustrative of English History*, 1825, III, 52, cited by Lucien Wolf, *loc. cit.*

III.

The Reyes Católicos and the Inquisition.

The Inquisition, it has been remarked [1], "had to deal in Spain with rich and crafty Jews and highly trained Moors. Forced to profess a Christianity which they hated, they loathed the worship of virgin or saint... mere idolatries... Between them and the Old Catholic Spaniards smouldered a perpetual grudge.... Jews, Moors, and Moriscoes made up 300,000 of the wealthiest inhabitants, and in seventy years the population fell from ten to six millions."

Having once started the Inquisition, Ferdinand and Isabella did not care to relax their zeal. The Chauvinistic sentiment, Spain for the Spaniards, was irresistible after the Catholic Monarchs had conquered the last of the Moors. New Christians were viewed with suspicion and envy. Were they to rob the genuine "viejos christianos *pur sang*" of the fruits of their policy and prowess? Jews and Moors alike were dangers to the compactness of the union, for Granada had been overwhelmed rather than destroyed, and might rise again. Church and State were in a spending mood, and the booty would have tempted even less extravagant tastes.

Machiavelli was right in denouncing this policy as deplorable. From the very first it failed of effect. Spain for the Spaniards meant a depopulated Spain, an impoverished Spain, a feeble and inglorious Spain. New Christians had intermarried with the oldest and greatest of the grandees. They occupied the highest offices of State and even of the Church. In two or three generations they might have been absorbed. But the Inquisition threw them

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* sub voce "Inquisition."

back into the arms of their ancient faith, the spice of danger lent poetry and holiness to the rites and ceremonies they had for a time abandoned—

"The axe and sword new vigour give,
And by their ruins they revive."

The bonds of Catholicism could not trammel their minds. The spirit of the Reformation was in the air. It became a holy aspiration, especially among the women, to die a martyr at the stake.

Jews and Moors threatened the Christian union. For fear of rebellion they were to be expelled, and first the Jews were banished. But the rebellion came. In 1524, and again from 1567 to 1570, the Moors were up in arms; the insurrections were quelled, and between 1598 and 1610 a million Moors were exiled from Spain.

Both King and Sacred Office secured much spoil through confiscations. These confiscations made the Jews poorer but they did not enrich the country. The Turks gained what the Spaniards lost. The trade of the Indies drifted into the hands of the Turks, and Bajazet was justified in following the advice of his Jewish physician[1] and inviting the Jews to his dominions, and jeering at Ferdinand for letting them go. America, newly discovered, and the argosies of the Spanish Main fed the Peninsula with bullion for a while, but economic ruin was bound to be the ultimate result of its system of religious persecution. Judaismo, Anglicanismo, Mahometanismo, Calvinismo, Ateismo are the successive "Leitmotive" of too successful voyages of discovery in the ocean of heresy. As our tables show, each crops up at intervals as the fashionable crime, but they were not self-exclusive. The Inquisitor saw nothing absurd in charging Queen Elizabeth's friend, Antonio Perez, with being Anglican and Jew; or Pedro de la Concepcion

[1] This was R. Joseph ha-Cohen, for whom a MS. in the author's possession was written in 1485 at Nicosia in Cyprus, vide *J. Q. R.*, vol. XI, p. 529.

(1662) with being Jew and Atheist; or in punishing numbers of Jews, in 1728, for being Mohammedans!

Ferdinand the Catholic remained a consistent persecutor to the end. He earned his canonization and did not scruple to reprove even the Pope for want of religious zeal. "Tell the Pope," he writes on March 7, 1514, to Fray Alonzo Lozano, his ambassador at Rome, "It is a thing much to be regretted that the Pope has refused to give to Inquisitors canonical preferments at a time when the Inquisition is more needed than ever[1]."

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), 1509–25.

IV.

CHARLES THE FIFTH.

FERDINAND and Isabella's grandson and successor was less religiously inclined—at first. In 1516, Charles the Fifth became King of Spain, and for a time the sport of Jew-baiting seemed to have fallen into disfavour and almost desuetude. The number of autos de fé decreased, and in Portugal the condition of the Israelites became almost enviable. Spanish sentiment obeyed the hint which fell from the throne, and the Bishop of Badajoz had to write to Cardinal Ximenes, Inquisitor-General, "Some of the Spaniards who are in Flanders speak badly of the Inquisition, telling horrible things of it and pretending that it ruins the country[1]." Charles the Fifth was elected Emperor in 1519, and Adrian VI Pope in 1524. There were divided counsels at the Vatican, and Spain is urged to be more zealous. "The former Emperors," wrote the College of Cardinals to Charles, with a sarcasm which to modern ears sounds strangely Gilbertian, "did not earn their great reputation by expelling the French, conquering the English, or subjecting Italy, but by making war on the Jews, putting heretics to death, and reducing almost the whole of Africa to obedience of the Christian religion[2]." The Pope did not endorse this violence of attitude on the part of the Holy College. The personal influence of a Jew seems to have softened his heart, and perhaps also the wisdom of conciliating the Jews as a body appealed to his intellect. Nor was Charles V by any means inclined to play into the hands of the Inquisition. The progress of

[1] Ibid., p. 281. The letter is dated March 8, 1516.

[2] *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), II, 609. Vide also as to Jews in England, ibid., I, 51 and 164.

Lutheranism in Germany had not been altogether unwelcome to him. Adrian's predecessor was his bitter enemy, and his own Church and State were not on the best of terms. In 1540, Covos writes to Charles from Granada and feeds his jealousy by telling him that "the Inquisition is encroaching daily on the civil power as regards death sentences[1]"; and, almost in the same breath, the Emperor hears of an interview with Pizarro and the martyrdom of a man at Valencia who "died there professing Judaism[2]."

Our lists show that the autos are still few in number. Between 1535 and 1555 we can find barely one recorded in two years. We read of a Synagogue where Jews seem to have been able to worship almost openly and the officiating Rabbi of which escaped punishment until 1562, when he figured at the Auto de Fé in Murcia. Pope Marcel III cannot restrain his dissatisfaction with this lukewarmness: it is of a piece with the laxity which permitted Charles V to recognize the religion of Luther at the Diet of Augsburg. And the Venetian Envoy at Rome writes to the Doge, in 1556, a very vivid account of the forcible language used by His Holiness at an official interview where the talk was of the Maranno refugees, who found what he thought were too ready welcomers at Venice and Leghorn. "The Pope," writes Navagero[3], "when I, Ambassador, asked him how he was, replied: 'Troubled on account of these enemies of God, renegade-moriscos (moresci), spawn of Jews (seme di Giudei), for we have yet to learn they are Christians, but we hope in Christ that they will repent them of what they have done. We will deprive them of their kingdoms and empires, we will proclaim them excommunicated and accursed, them and those who shall have participation with them. We will make a crusade against them, because both father and son are heretics, and we will extirpate that

[1] Ibid., 241. [2] Ibid., 295. [3] Ibid. (Venetian), 1556.

accursed race.... This scum of the earth has, alas, commanded us, owing to our cowardice, ever since those wretched souls Lodovico Moro (Ludwic Sforza) and Alfonso (II of Aragon, King of Naples) placed the neck of Italy under the yoke of the barbarians, our capital enemies. You also have communication with these promise breakers who cajole you. Beware of what you are doing.'"

V.

Embassy from Jews in India.

In the sixteenth century the Jews were by no means of the small importance which is usually imagined. Jewish historians have been too prone to write annals from exclusively Jewish sources and standpoint. To Jews the expulsion from Spain seemed a calamity as terrible as the destruction of the Temple, but it is a failing with Jews to magnify disasters no less than exaggerate small successes. Like all highly strung people, Jews are at times too pessimistic and at others too optimistic. To an Abarbanel, the Decree of 1492 meant political and financial ruin; but the majority of his coreligionists either remained in Spain throughout, or returned to it after a year or two spent in Portugal or across the Straits of Gibraltar, and in Spain they practised their Judaism in secret. They were like the Russian Jews to-day who live outside the pale of Jewish settlement; they were known, they were tolerated, and they were able to square the police, subject always to the periodic risk of being squeezed for gain. The Jewish idealist of the time hated the hollowness and moral squalor of such a life, and hence the depth of his depression. The commercial minds were less squeamish.

Now the balance of power in Europe was unstable: the dissensions in the Church and the triumphant progress of Turkey were two great factors which made for the downfall of traditional Christianity, and the Jews were not slow to seize the opportunity of attempting to regain their lost ground. Their first move came from an entirely unexpected quarter, and in a manner no less strange. The Calendar of

State Papers[1] again furnishes us with a clue. We read in a letter of March 14, 1524, addressed from Rome by the Venetian legate, Marco Foscari, to the "Signory," that "An ambassador has come to the Pope from the Jews in India, offering him 300,000[2] combatants against the Turk, and asking for artillery."

The ambassador was the famous David Reubeni, who started on his mission in 1522, and his principals seem to have been the black Jews of Cranganore[3]. These had for nine centuries enjoyed independence in the principality of Anjuvannam[4], under a grant from Bhaskara Ravi Varma, King of Malabar. In 1524, the year before Vasco da Gama's death, the Mohammedans with a fleet of 100 "grabs" attacked Cranganore and drove out the Jews, who found refuge in Cochin. Reubeni's mission it was to persuade the Pope, as Head of the East and Overlord of the Portuguese, that it was his interest to be friendly to the Jews and thus secure their help in wresting the trade of India from the Turks. The mission was apparently unsuccessful, though the Portuguese appear to have left the Cochin Jews free to practise their religion with impunity, and without interference from the Inquisition established at Goa in 1536. The Synagogue at Cochin, in Jews' Town, was erected in 1568, but destroyed by the Portuguese in 1662, because the Jews were supposed to intrigue with the Dutch enemy, who captured the city in 1664 and

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Venetian), 1520–6, p. 810.

[2] The number is significant. Reubeni offered the Pope 300,000 subjects, not soldiers. In his סבור he says that his brother rules over thirty myriads (שלשים רבוא). Doubtless he exaggerated their number, but ten years later we read of a Jewish fleet in the Mediterranean:—"Prince Andrea with twenty-five galleys sails for Naples in search of the Jew (Cacha Diablo), who had twenty." *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), 242.

[3] The writer suggested this explanation of the Reubeni puzzle in a short paper read before the Orientalist Congress at Hamburg in Sept. 1902.

[4] Dr. G. Oppert visited Cranganore and has published the grants inscribed on the original plates which are still preserved at Cochin. He identifies the name Anjuvannam as signifying the Fifth or Foreign Caste.

rebuilt the Synagogue[1]. After 130 years the Dutch gave way to the English, but under both Protestant powers the Jews have enjoyed complete religious liberty; Holland and England, in Asia as in Europe, gained what Spain and Portugal lost.

To return to David Reubeni, the usual form his story takes is that a man, called by that name, gave himself out to be a messenger from Prester John, suddenly appeared in Rome early in the sixteenth century, secured an extraordinary influence upon Pope, Emperor, and King of Portugal in turn and as Pseudo-Messiah, either himself or through a disciple, started one of the periodic Zionist agitations which convulse Jewry.

The disciple was a Portuguese Maranno and Royal Secretary, Diogo Pires, who, after his conversion to Judaism, called himself Solomon Molcho. It seemed too unlikely that, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, anything of the sort could have happened, and so most historians—Basnage for example—regarded the whole story as a myth which had grown up out of the Messianic aspirations of an imaginative and credulous people.

Graetz[2] threw new light on the subject. He was unable to deny the existence of a man calling himself David Reubeni, for there was in the Bodleian Library a Manuscript, the Edition[3] of which occupies more than a hundred closely printed quarto pages, purporting to be the diary of his Travels from 1522–5.

The original MS., by-the-by, has been missing since

[1] Vide Rae's *Syrian Church in India*, cap. X.

[2] Graetz, IX, 545 and note 4.

[3] Neubauer's *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, II, 133 and seq. The MS. is written in 1527, and at the beginning the author tells how his brother was king in מדבר חבור, whence he came to Europe via נדוי and by ship via Souakim to Abyssinia and Egypt. By these names he may well mean Cranganore and Djeddah. I believe Professor Schechter found a large fragment of another MS. of Reubeni's Diary in the Cairo Geniza. Solomon Molcho became a famous mystic, and was eventually burnt at an auto de fé.

1867 and the Edition was made from a copy. Graetz also knew of the references to him by Jewish contemporaries: Farisol in his Itinera Mundi (אורחות עולם) and R. Joseph b. Joshua Hasefardi in his Chronicles (עמק הבכה). He also discovered external authorities for the episode in 1528 and 1531.

Graetz was not wanting in imagination but his temperament was sceptical. David Reubeni could not be suppressed, he was an actuality and had to be accounted for, and so Graetz, largely on the internal evidence of the Hebrew style of the Diary, but also on the a priori improbability of his story, condemns him as an impostor made in Germany.

Neubauer, in 1895, goes a step further when he affirms with "certainty, that the Hebrew style of David's Diary is that of a German Jew. David might have been such, though a native of Egypt who knew Arabic as his mother tongue!" Rieger and Vogelstein in their History of the Jews of Rome call him an Arabian Impostor, largely on the ground that his ignorance of Abyssinia was exposed when he was confronted with a *soi-disant* envoy from the real King of Abyssinia. Anyhow, even Graetz admits that, to Reubeni's favour at court and in the Vatican, was due the then comparative immunity from persecution of the Jews of Portugal, and the delay in the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition.

VI.

David Reubeni in Portugal.

At this time though even in Spain Jew baiting was relaxed, the Portuguese Jews were allowed a degree of liberty which to foreigners seemed extraordinary. On October 10, 1528, Martin de Salina, Austrian envoy in Spain, writes to the King of Bohemia and Hungary:—"A Jew has been allowed to preach in Portugal in favour of the religion of Moses, and against our Christian faith. He has also written letters to this kingdom of Spain, in consequence of which many of his comrades desert their houses and fly to that country. The Emperor has written twice to the King on this subject, and the Inquisition is now proceeding against the guilty parties. Cannot tell how the affair will end, but fears that God will in the end chastise the king who tolerates such evils in his estates[1]." This may well refer to David Reubeni, who after being treated with distinction at the Portuguese court for nearly a twelvemonth, was suddenly banished from Portugal. His boat was shipwrecked on the Spanish coast and he himself imprisoned by the Inquisition. Charles the Fifth released him, and he proceeded to the Pope at Avignon. Possibly he may have taken the part of an honest broker in the negociations between those two personages. The favour he enjoyed seems otherwise inexplicable. The Portuguese clerical party, however, was no longer to be repressed, and the agitators for the Inquisition proved too strong for King Joaõ or even for the Pope. Graetz quotes a letter from the Inquisitor of Badajoz to the King, dated March 30, 1528, which has hitherto been regarded as the earliest external authority for the whole strange Reubeni episode. He also quotes

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), 1527-9, II, 818.

a letter of June 11, 1531, addressed to King Joaõ by Bras Neto from Rome, in which the envoy states in terms that the Pope's aversion to grant the Bull sanctioning the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, was due to his partiality for the Jewish Prince from Asia. As a matter of fact it was not till 1536 that the Inquisition was introduced into Portugal, and in 1537 we read in the Spanish State Papers that the Inquisition of Portugal is "intending to persecute the Spanish Moriscoes[1]," and that "the Pope will help[2]" to this end. Pressure was being brought to bear upon the King by the Emperor, whose envoy, Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, writes to his Catholic Majesty, about this time, that he "spoke to the King (of Portugal) about the Inquisition, and although the answer was not so clear and resolute as could be expected, yet he declared that not one of the newly converted Moors remained in the whole of Portugal, and begged him to write home that if any of the fugitives had taken shelter in the ports of Portugal he should at once be imprisoned and punished[3]." Even so, it is Moriscos not Marannos, Moors and not Jews, who are the first objects of the Portuguese attack.

Professed Jews had, of course, remained in Portugal notwithstanding the expulsion of 1497, and were known as such and allowed to trade even with Spain. In the *Relaciones* of the autos their Judaism is often assumed, and they practically received a licence to reside in Lisbon, by the King's edict dated February 7, 1537, which ordered that "All Jews should wear a badge by which they might be distinguished from Christians[4]." As late as February, 1539, Eustace Chapuys writes from London to the Queen of Hungary, that there was as yet no Inquisition in Portugal[5]; our own list of Lisbon autos begins with

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), 1537, 319.
[2] Ibid., 316.
[3] Ibid., 319; S. E. Pat. B. M. Add. 28,589.
[4] Vide Lindo's *Jews of Spain and Portugal*, 375.
[5] *State Papers* (Spanish), 1539, 110.

the following year. In 1543, "certain Portuguese Jews, prisoners in London, are released on the recommendation of the King and Queen of Portugal[1]." This seems surprising enough, but except for a doubtful auto in 1531, recorded by Zunz, and seven between 1540 and 1560, we have no recorded autos in Lisbon. After that date they become numerous until 1578, when King Sebastian was slain. For a year or two the times were too troubled for indulgence in the luxury of an auto, but with Philip's seizure of Portugal and its consequent eighty-five years' union with Spain, autos became numerous and regular. In 1589, Don Antonio, one of the pretenders to the throne, lodged in the Apostolic College or Theatines (Lisbon), and the Venetian legate writes that "he received many visits from Portuguese Jews and other low folk[2]."

[1] *State Papers* (Spanish), 1542-3, 270 (*Wien Imp. Arch.*, Corresp., Engl.). *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 700.

[2] Ibid. (Venetian), 1586-9. In the same volume we read of a "Jew of a black bonnet—the scoundrel Saul Cohen." In 1599 Queen Elizabeth corresponds with Esperanza Malchi, the Sultana's secretary, and in 1591, thanks to her ambassador's intervention, the Sultan appointed a Jew, Waiwode of Wallachia (vide Ellis, *Letters illustrative of English History*, 1825, III, 52, and *Jewish World* of Jan. 2, 1885, both cited by Lucien Wolf). The *State Papers* (Venetian, 1581-91) have numerous references to David Passi (i. e. of Fez), a Spanish refugee and a diplomatist, of whom the Sultan said, "slaves like the Vizir he had in abundance, but never a one like David," and of whose temporary disgrace the Venetian legate wrote: "All Christendom has cause to be thankful for the . . exile and probable death of the Jew."

VII.

The Second Expulsion.

The Portuguese Jews were soon to feel the weight of the Spanish yoke. The union of the two kingdoms under Philip the Second did not make for tolerance or indifference. Philip the Second was the most Catholic of monarchs, and his zeal for the Church, encouraged rather than tempered by the love of power, induced him alike to marry the unloveliest of England's queens and fight the ablest. In his time Judah was not saved, and Israel did not dwell securely.

We have particulars of many autos celebrated in his dominions, and there were doubtless many more, and it was he who established the Inquisition in America. His successor, Philip III, was hardly less fanatical. The Holy Office was not allowed to remain idle, and the number of persons imprisoned for suspected Judaism was to be counted by the thousand. The "Nation," as the Portuguese Jew Christians were called, braved the terrors of the Inquisition, and poured into Spain, thinking perhaps that the game was worth the candle, and that they would be more leniently treated now that they were fellow subjects, and not mere alien immigrants.

But even the precarious existence accorded to these Jew Christians was destined to come to an end. The immediate cause was a case of sacrilege in a Lisbon church, attributed by the ignorant mob to the Jews. The popular cry was taken up by the Church, and a powerful agitation was started, in 1620, with the object of procuring the exile of all Jews from the Peninsula. The term Jews included not only professed Jews, but all persons who or whose parents had been punished by the Inquisition for

offences of Judaism or condemned "por vehementi" on suspicion of Judaism. Some of the Jews petitioned Philip III, who died in 1621, and then his son Philip IV for pardon, alleging their innocence of sacrilege, and offering a bribe of 150,000 ducats as an inducement to permit them to reside in Spain and Portugal. Philip the Fourth did not reject their petition with contumely, but appointed a Committee of Grandees consisting of the Duke de Villa hermosa, the Marques de Castel Rio, the Conde de Castillo, the Bishop Designate of Malaga, Don Francisco de Bragança, and five others, to investigate the matter. Antisemitic arguments, mostly theological, and of the antiquated type of the early Christian Fathers, prevailed in favour of their banishment, and ultimately, in 1631, the king decided that all Judaizers[1] were to be exiled from his realms. This, the second, banishment from Spain and Portugal was hardly less important and far-reaching than its better known predecessor of 1492. For it was this that led to the foundation of the Jewish communities of London, Altona, and Bordeaux, and brought to Amsterdam a Spinoza and a Manasseh ben Israel. The original documents relating to these events, the Jews' Petitions, the Minutes of the Royal Commission, and even the draft of the letter of thanks addressed by the Council of the Inquisition to the king for his zeal for the Church, and a copy of the king's reply, were recently picked out by the writer on the fourth floor of a tenement house in a Madrid back slum from a hidden hoard containing the archives of the Council, and some of them have been published in the forty-ninth to fifty-first volumes of the *Revue des Études Juives.*

[1] The various names by which these Jews or Jew Christians are described (sometimes by King Philip IV himself) in the original documents are as follows:—"los Judios que en Portugal an deliquido en materia de fee" (86), "hombres de la nacion" (8), "los de la nacion Hebraea" (69), "la gente de la nacion de Portugal (63), "los de la nacion de Portugal" (103), and "los hombres de negocios de Portugal" (77).

The second banishment was not more effective than the earlier attempts to extirpate the Jewish heresy. The annals of the Inquisition show an increase in the number of victims punished for "delitos de judaismo," and its punishments are if anything still more severe. It was only in the latter half of the eighteenth century that the spirit of the revolution succeeded in scotching the venom of the religious persecutor.

VIII.

Statistics of Autos and their Victims.

The lists of autos contained in Chapters XXVII–XLV will serve as annals in the history of martyrdom. Nearly 2,000 autos have accordingly been collected, and it becomes possible to make a statistical examination of the subject with some hope of accuracy. The Portuguese figures may be taken as approximately correct; the Spanish are much below the mark except so far as concerns the Inquisitions of Seville and Cordova. Of the 881 autos recorded as celebrated in Spain four-sevenths occurred in these cities and Toledo, whereas the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Ximenes, divided Spain into ten tribunals, and five others were afterwards added; the last—Granada—in 1524. Probably, therefore, there were nearly four times as many autos in Spain as those of which details are forthcoming. The figures prior to 1540 have some of the vagueness of exaggeration: but, having regard to the 760 Spanish and 889 Portuguese autos detailed in our lists as having taken place between that date and 1790, it will not be an overestimate to reckon the actual autos during that period as being, for Spain 2,500, and Portugal, 1,000. Now Llorente, and many other authorities after him, estimate the total number of victims of the Inquisition in Spain as 341,000[1], viz. 32,000 killed outright, 17,659 executed in effigy, and 291,000 as otherwise punished. His figures for the period prior to 1540, i. e. the régime of the first five Inquisitors General, comprise 20,226 killed outright and 10,913 in effigy; while for the régimes of the 35th and 36th Inquisitors, 1720–3

[1] The Holy Office in 1524 set up at Seville an inscription recording that in Seville alone between the years 1492 and 1524 20,000 heretics abjured, and "1,000 persons who persisted in their heresy have been delivered to the flames."

and 1723–30, he reckons two killed outright in each tribunal every year, one burnt in effigy, and twelve "penitenciados." A glance at the statistics given in the Table comprising Chapter XXXVII will show that this is no exaggeration, so far at least as those years are concerned. The number of victims at ninety-three autos was 2,681, an average of over twenty-eight per auto. But it may be questioned whether he should assume one auto a year in each tribunal. An auto operated as a jail delivery, but there was no Habeas Corpus Act to regulate the procedure of the officials of the Holy Tribunal. When it suited their convenience they would celebrate seven autos at a single place in a single year, e. g. at Coimbra, in 1732. But, at Goa, M. Dellon complains that they waited from December, 1673, till January 12, 1676, without celebrating a single auto, and he says that the auto usually took place there only once in two or three years. Evidently the number must have varied with the number of prisoners, and it was doubtless influenced by the fluctuations of public interest in heretic-baiting.

IX.

LEA ON THE INQUISITION OF SPAIN

AND HEREIN OF SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE JEWS AND MARRANOS

DR. LEA.

IT is the fashion in American Universities to give their Professors a Sabbatical Year—one year of rest in every seven. A Harvard Don spent his year in travelling through Europe. Wherever he went he was deluged with inquiries as to Lea, the historian of the Inquisition, and, when he came to Spain, he was assured that the one American of all others whom the Spaniards wished to welcome was Dr. Lea. Among Americans—cultured Americans—Lea has long been recognized as one of the greatest of their number, and surely his fine book on the *History of the Inquisition in Spain*[1] can but confirm his reputation, it cannot be enhanced. To the general historian it will commend itself as a monumental history of the Holy Office in its special home. To the Jew it provides a remarkable history of the rise and fall of Judaism in Spain. To the dry-as-dust collector of records it adds a large number of lists and details of unknown dispatches, trials, autos-de-fé and other celebrations unearthed by the author from the vast stores of unpublished documents in his possession or copied at his expense. Only once, and that many years ago, has Lea crossed the Atlantic, but the gruesome MSS. at Simancas, Madrid, London, Oxford, Berlin, Halle and Copenhagen are to him an open book. Lord Acton, when in 1888 he reviewed the great *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, told a pretty story about Lea and

[1] *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, by Henry Charles Lea, LL.D., in four volumes. New York and London: Macmillan, 1906-7.

Disraeli. Disraeli was informed that public libraries sent their MSS. over to America to enable Lea to write his history. "But they did not come back?" inquired the statesman. And indeed they have come back, and clothed in such inviting garb that he who runs may read. The results of his life-long study and research are now revealed in the four noble volumes which have followed each other with almost unprecedented rapidity and regularity in the last two years. Already in 1903 it was my privilege to hear extracts from these read out by the veteran author who, with the graceful condescension only attainable by the real scholar, accepted and adopted from a mere tiro additional material gleaned from a lucky haul of papers in Seville and Madrid.

INQUISITION OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

The present work necessarily differs from the *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. There it was the philosopher investigating the history of religious thought. Here we have the keen observer of political facts. The Inquisition, as a religious weapon of the Middle Ages, was an institution or organization altogether different from that of Spain, whose only aim and policy it was to make all Spaniards conform to one rigid unity of faith under penalty of exile and confiscation. Neither King nor Inquisitor is uniformly religious, but he is always eager for the penalty. It drove a political engine more potent than any previously imagined. The Pope himself was not suffered to interfere with its working, and the history of the *Suprema* was one long struggle for supremacy, to which not only Jews, Moslems, Heretics and Freethinkers, but also the Civil Tribunals, the Church as by law established, the people at large, and even the king had in turn to submit. Our author, after patiently collecting his materials, claims to have presented a faithful and impartial account of this Spanish Inquisition, and indeed he has done so.

X.

CHURCH AND STATE.

The first book treats of the origin of the Inquisition and its establishment in Spain. We are shown how the relations between that most catholic country and Rome were never intimate or cordial. Spain had always arrogated to itself the right to what was practically ecclesiastical autonomy, but, internally, its religious associations were almost independent of the State. For centuries the royal power in Spain declined to persecute Moors or Jews, and Rome could never compel it to do so. Under the Catholic Monarchs, Spain's traditional policy underwent a change. The control of the machinery of persecution passed from "the Church to the Sovereign." It was the King's Supreme Council of the Inquisition that recognized allegiance to nobody except the king, and as often as the people petitioned against the wrongs inflicted by the Inquisition or protested against the immunities claimed by its officials and familiars, the sovereign—especially if he was a Bourbon—turned a deaf ear to their complaints. Our historian accordingly exonerates the papacy and the Church generally from any large measure of responsibility for the constitution or practice or methods of the Inquisition. He claims that it was the national hatred of the heretic which, during and after the fifteenth century, converted the Spaniards from the most tolerant into the most intolerant nation of Europe. In this view a distinguished critic, influenced perhaps unconsciously by contemporary French policy, joins issue. Salamon Reinach maintains that the whole tendency of the facts so masterly grouped by Lea is to prove the direct responsibility of Rome for the ferocious bigotry of the Holy Office. The truth, perhaps, which is never at the bottom of the well—nor at the surface—lies between the two. Persecution was not uncongenial either to pope or king, and, if not always welcomed for its own

sake, was rejected by neither when it could advance some high political purpose.

QUEEN ISABELLA.

In another historical verdict, Dr. Lea will probably meet with less opposition. He dissociates Ferdinand from Isabella in the establishment of the Inquisition. Examination of that king's correspondence reveals an unexpectedly favourable aspect of his character. Despite his cruelty and duplicity, his instructions always are to decide all cases "with rectitude and justice." But Isabella, Lea characterizes as a *muger baronil*, a mannish woman, whose fanatic religiousness was "due to the rigid and unbending churchmen whom she chose as her spiritual directors." Our author repudiates the modern tendency to regard the Inquisition as political rather than religious. It was no engine for bringing about a revolution from feudalism to absolutism. Absolutism was not the work of the Inquisition, and when in 1480 Ferdinand and Isabella reconstructed Castilian jurisprudence by the enactment of the *Ordenanzas reales*, they deemed religious conformity no less urgent than protection to life and property.

XI.

JEWS AND THE CANON LAW.

In the second chapter Lea, in a few masterly strokes, sketches the history of the Spanish Jews during a thousand years. Their story is summed up in a fine sympathetic passage in which he shows how the "annals of mankind afford no more brilliant instance of steadfastness under adversity, of unconquerable strength through centuries of hopeless oppression, of inexhaustible elasticity in recuperating from apparent destruction, and of conscientious adherence to a faith whose only portion in this life was

contempt and suffering" (i. 35). The Canon law, as Paramo was the first to point out, justified the maltreatment of the Jew, and barely tolerated his existence except upon terms of virtual slavery. But this very ferocity is proof of the cordial relations which subsisted between the early Christians and the Jews and which the Apostolic Canons sought to suppress. They actually found it necessary "to forbid bishops and priests and deacons as well as laymen from fasting or celebrating feasts with Jews or partaking of their unleavened bread or giving oil to their synagogues or lighting their lamps" (i. 37). The early Christians were, as Renan has remarked [1], essentially Jewish. It is only when we enter the Middle Ages, that "the barbarians arrive, and then began that deplorable ingratitude of humanity, now Christian, against Judaism." In 415 Cyril succeeded in ousting the Jews from Alexandria, where they had always preponderated. In 589 the Council of Toledo found it necessary to forbid the Jews to have Christian wives or concubines or servants. The offspring of such unions was to be baptized, and "the convenient doctrine was adopted that the sacrament of baptism was indelible and that, while Christianity was not to be spread by force, unwilling converts were nevertheless Christians and were subject to all the pains and penalties of heresy for any secret inclination to their own religion" (i. 41). This doctrine, by the by, became the keynote of the Inquisition 800 years later. The Arian Goths, once tolerant, became the keenest of persecutors, and had no mercy upon unfortunate converts deemed guilty of the unpardonable crime of apostasy.

THE MOORS.

After the Saracen invasion in 711, toleration was restored to the Peninsula. The Mozarabes, or subject Christians, were actually better treated by the Caliphs than they had been by Christian Gothic kings. The facility of

[1] Renan, *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme.* Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883.

conversion from one faith to another became a characteristic of Spain under the Saracens. The Jews were tolerated, though not loved, by the Moslems. As physicians and administrators, they were almost a necessity. Certainly in 850 Mahomet I dismissed all his Jewish officials, but barely a hundred years later their standing was such that when the Jew Ibn Peliag went to visit the Caliph of Cordova 700 Jewish retainers rode with him, all richly clad and riding in carriages. But again in 1066—the year that brought the Jews to England—those of Granada were massacred and pillaged, and among the 4,000 martyrs was Samuel ha Levi the Nagid.

Part of Spain was reconquered in the thirteenth century by San Alfonso III, but, while most of the Peninsula remained Moorish, it was not policy to persecute Mudejares, free Moors, or even Jews.

XII.

JUDERIAS AND CONVERSOS.

The Church, however, made mighty efforts at their conversion. The *converso* was then a special favourite of the legislature, but, instead of attempting a policy of assimilation, the Church used every effort to keep Christians apart from Jews and Moors on the humiliating pretext that she would lose more souls than she would gain. Hence Morerías and Juderías were established in their cities to segregate their inhabitants from the Christians. But it was not till 1412 that every city was enjoined by law to establish Morerías and Juderías surrounded by a wall having only one gate. In 1480 Ferdinand and Isabella, finding that the law had not been observed, ordered its enforcement, allowing two years for the establishment of these ghettos, and yet

in the closing triumph over Granada the capitulations accorded by Ferdinand and Isabella were even more liberal to Jews and Moors than those granted from the eleventh to the thirteenth century by

such monarchs as Alfonso VI, Ferdinand III, Alfonso X, and Jaime I. Unless they were deliberately designed as perfidious traps, they show how little real conscientious conviction lay behind the elaborately stimulated fanaticism which destroyed the Jews and Mudejares (i. 79).

The third chapter deals in fuller detail with the Jews and *conversos*. Though the Crusades had no permanent influence on the condition of the Spanish Jews, the Church was helped in its efforts to arouse popular hatred by the odium which the Jews themselves excited. With considerable psychological insight, Lea points out that

a strong race is not apt to be an amiable one. The Jews were proud of their ancient lineage and the purity of their descent from the kings and heroes of the Old Testament. A man who could trace his ancestry to David would look with infinite scorn on the hidalgos who boasted of the blood of Lain Calvo, and, if the favour of the monarch rendered safe the expression of his feelings, his haughtiness was not apt to win friends among those who repaid his contempt with interest. The Oriental fondness for display was a grievous offence among the people. The wealth of the kingdom was, to a great extent, in Jewish hands, affording ample opportunity of contrast between their magnificence and the poverty of the Christian multitude, and the lavish extravagance with which they adorned themselves, their women, and their retainers, was well fitted to excite envy more potent for evil because more widespread than enmity arising from individual wrongs. Shortly before the catastrophe, at the close of the fifteenth century, Alfonso V of Portugal, who was well affected towards them, asked the chief rabbi, Joseph Ibn Jachia, why he did not prevent his people from a display provocative of the assertion that their wealth was derived from robbery of the Christians, adding that he required no answer, for nothing save spoliation and massacre would cure them of it (i. 96).

XIII.

MEDIAEVAL PERSECUTIONS.

The author touches with a light hand on the various persecutions, with corresponding massacres, to which the Jews had to submit—that of Navarre in 1328, that of the Black Death, that of Bertrand de Guesclin and his hordes of Free Companions in 1366. Pedro the Cruel, who became

king of Castile in 1350, and who had married the daughter of King Edward of England, had surrounded himself with Jews, and confided to them the protection of his person, and shown such Jewish proclivities that he was himself asserted to be a Jew. It was, therefore, only natural that the rebellious faction led by his brother should declare themselves enemies of the Jewish race. In 1388 the fanatical ecclesiastic Fernan Martinez threatens to tear down the twenty-three synagogues of Seville and, despite the opposition of king and archbishop, succeeded three years later in causing the destruction of the Judería there and the massacre or enforced baptism of its inhabitants. This "guerra sacra contra los Judios" formed a turning-point in Spanish history. Henceforth the old friendliness between Jew and Christian became a thing of the past, and gradually the Spanish character changed until it was prepared to accept the Inquisition. Lea, therefore, looks upon Martinez as the real, though remote, founder of the Inquisition.

MARRANOS OF 1391.

It was the massacres of 1391—a date even more ominous to Jews than 1492—which created the new class of converted Jews known as "New Christians," "Marranos," or "Conversos." At that date conversion was favoured by law, and the convert was received with a heartiness of social equality which shows that, as yet, there was no antagonism of race but only of religion. The Jew who became a Christian was eligible to any position in Church or State, or to any matrimonial alliance. These massacres spread to Barcelona, Palma, Valencia, and Toledo, and whole communities were baptized. Panic destroyed the unyielding fortitude so often manifested by the Jews under trouble. They clamoured to be admitted into the Church, and the conversions in Castile and Aragon were said to be numbered by the hundred thousand. The Conversos thus produced were the direct causes not only of the establish-

ment of the Spanish Inquisition, but also of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain.

Dr. Lea says they became the deadliest opponents of their former brethren. Many who have traced the history of the Marranos in Spain and out of it will question whether that statement is not too sweeping, if it is true at all, but there is undoubtedly psychological justification for the attitude our author takes up. In a fine passage he says:—

> Whether their conversion was sincere or not, they had broken with the past and, with the keen intelligence of their race, they could see that a new career was open to them in which energy and capacity could gratify ambition, unfettered by the limitations surrounding them in Judaism. That they should hate, with an exceeding hatred, those who had proved true to the faith amid tribulation, was inevitable. The renegade is apt to be bitterer against those whom he has abandoned than is the opponent by birthright, and, in such a case as this, consciousness of the contempt felt by the steadfast children of Israel for the weaklings and worldlings who had apostatized from the faith of their fathers gave a keener edge to enmity. From early times the hardest blows endured by Judaism had always been dealt by its apostate children, whose training had taught them the weakest points to assail, and whose necessity of self-justification led them to attack these mercilessly (i. 113).

ANTI-JEWISH LAWS OF 1411.

Then he refers to Paul of Burgos and his controversial writings, to Joshua Lorqui and his *Hebraeomastix* and to Bonafos Caballerías. He shows how those men, in stimulating the spirit of persecuting fanaticism, sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind. The persecutions which followed the massacres of 1391 induced a constant stream of emigration to Granada and Portugal, and though, in 1395, Henry III promised them royal protection, it was he also who required them to wear the hateful red circlet. In 1411 San Vicente Ferrer, Bishop of Segovia, caused further oppressive laws to be passed against the Castilian Jews in the hope of forcing them into the bosom of the Church by reducing them to despair. These Spanish laws were

not unlike the May laws adopted in Russia 500 years later. They debarred the Jews from trades and intercourse, while the Conversos were enabled to make the most brilliant careers. Their intellectual capacity justified their aspiring to the highest places "in the Courts, in the Universities, in the Church, and in the State." They entered into matrimonial alliances with the noblest houses in the land, and the clergy recommended marriage between converts and Christians as the surest means of preserving the purity of the faith. New Christians were described by contemporaries as "virtually ruling Spain whilst secretly perverting the faith by their covert adherence to Judaism." This is not quite consistent with what had been previously laid down as to their hatred of the Jews, but anyhow their triumph was shortlived.

> The hatred and contempt which, as apostates, they lavished on the faithful sons of Israel reacted on themselves. It was impossible to stimulate popular abhorrence of the Jew without at the same time stimulating the envy and jealousy excited by the ostentation and arrogance of the New Christians. What was the use of humiliating and exterminating the Jew if these upstarts were not only to take his place in grinding the people as tax-gatherers, but were to bear rule in court and camp and church? (i. 121).

In 1442 there was some indication of a reaction in favour of the Jews by way of counterpoise to Converso influence. Papal bulls provided that Christian and Jew should dwell in harmony; the king's physician, Jacob Aben-Nuñez, was appointed Rabb Mayor (Chief Rabbi). The Cortes of 1462 petitioned Henry IV to restore liberty of trade between Christian and Jew. The Jews offered him an immense sum for Gibraltar, where they proposed to establish a city of refuge, but he refused. On his deposition, the laws of 1411 were restored. In 1475 the Jews of Medina del Pomar successfully complained to Ferdinand and Isabella that their port had restricted all dealings with foreigners to the Jews resident in Bilbao, where they had been accustomed to purchase cloths and other merchandise from

foreign traders. Despite these vicissitudes, the oppression of Jews reached its climax with the settlement of the country under the Catholic Monarchs. With the recrudescence of oppression

came a revulsion of feeling adverse to the proscribed race inflamed by the ceaseless labours of the frailes whose denunciatory eloquence knew no cessation. Under these circumstances, the Jews and Moors seem to have had recourse to the Roman curia, always ready to speculate by selling privileges, whether it had power to grant them or not, and then to withdraw them for a consideration (i. 124).

XIV.

DECLINE OF JEWISH POPULATION.

While the Conversos had accumulated enormous wealth and popular hatred, the number of professed Jews had greatly declined. In 1474 there were only 12,000 Jewish families left in Castile, and so the importance of Jews as a source of public revenue had fatally diminished. Such communities as those of Seville, Toledo, Cordova, and Burgos paid much less than towns inconspicuous prior to 1391. The Conversos, as farmers of the taxes, succeeded to the odium as well as to the profits of the Jews, and extreme tension existed between the Old and the New Christians. The latter were stigmatized as more than suspect in the faith, and as in reality Jews, and despite the bull of Nicholas V (1449) declaring that all the faithful are one,

the hatred which of old had been merely a matter of religion had become a matter of race. The one could be conjured away by baptism, the other was indelible, and the change was of the most serious import, exercising for centuries its sinister influence on the fate of the Peninsula (i. 126).

RACIAL HATRED.

Old Christians and New were constantly quarrelling, and sometimes fought in the streets of Toledo, Valladolid, and

Cordova. On Ferdinand's accession, Dominicans and Franciscans were thundering from the pulpits and calling on the faithful to purify the land from the pollution of Judaism —secret as well as open.

Wise forbearance, combined with vigorous maintenance of order, would in time have brought about reconciliation, to the infinite benefit of Spain, but at a time when heresy was regarded as the greatest of crimes and unity of faith as the supreme object of statesmanship, wise forbearance and toleration were impossible. After suppressing turbulence, the sovereigns therefore felt that there was still a duty before them to vindicate the faith. Thus, after long hesitation, their policy with regard to the Conversos was embodied in the Inquisition, introduced towards the end of 1480. The Jewish question required different treatment, and it was solved, once for all, in most decisive fashion.

The Inquisition had no jurisdiction over the Jew, unless he rendered himself amenable to it by some offence against the faith. He was not baptized; he was not a member of the Church, and therefore was incapable of heresy, which was the object of inquisitional functions. He might, however, render himself subject to it by proselytism, by seducing Christians to embrace his errors, and this was constantly alleged against Jews, although their history shows that, unlike the other great religions, Judaism has ever been a national faith with no desire to spread beyond the boundaries of the race. As the chosen people, Israel has never sought to share its God with the Gentiles. There was more foundation, probably, in the accusation that the secret perversity of the Conversos was encouraged by those who had remained steadfast in the faith, that circumcisions were secretly performed, and that contributions to the synagogues were welcomed.

While the object of the Inquisition was to secure the unity of faith, its founding destroyed the hope that ultimately all the Jews would be gathered into the fold of Christ. This had been the justification of the inhuman laws designed to render existence outside of the Church so intolerable that baptism would be sought as a relief from endless injustice, but the awful spectacle of the autos-de-fé and the miseries attendant on wholesale confiscations led the Jew to cherish more resolutely than ever the ancestral faith which served him as shield from the terrors of the Holy Office and the dreadful fate ever impending over the Conversos. His conversion could no longer be hoped for, and, so long as he remained in Spain, the faithful would be scandalized by his presence, and the converts

would be exposed to the contamination of his society. The only alternative was his removal (i. 130–1).

Policy and fanaticism were irreconcilable. The war with Granada was expensive, and it may be that the threatened expulsion was rather a financial than a religious measure, adopted with a view of selling suspensions and exemptions. With the surrender of Granada in 1492 the work of the reconquest was accomplished. The Jews had zealously contributed to it and had done their work too well, and the Jews were no longer financially indispensable. "Der Mohr hat seine Pflicht gethan. Der Mohr kann gehn."

XV.

TORQUEMADA.

Torquemada neglected no means of proving Jews a danger to the Church. In June, 1490, he had trumped up a case of sacrilege against a Converso of having a consecrated wafer in his knapsack at Astorga. A year later he invented the story of the crucifixion at La Guardia of a Christian child, though no child had anywhere been missed, and no remains were found at the spot where it was said to have been buried. "Three deceased Jews were burned in effigy, and two living ones were torn with red-hot pincers, and some Conversos were reconciled and strangled before burning" (i. 134), and the sentence Torquemada had translated into Catalan and published in Barcelona. The author deals with this case at length in his *Studies from the Religious History of Spain*, and Padre Fidel Fita quotes the records of the trial in Volume XI of the *Boletín*.

THE EXPULSION.

The expulsion of the Jews from all the Spanish dominions was decided on and fixed for the 7th of Ab, and all that the influence of Abravanel and Abraham Senior could effect was to obtain two days' grace, bringing it to

the 2nd of August. This accounts for the discrepancy between the dates given as the date of the expulsion. Efforts were even made to follow exiles and secure their property, and Henry VII of England and Ferdinand of Spain were appealed to for assistance in such cases. The author then describes feelingly and eloquently the bearing of the Jews under their tribulation. Unlike 1391 there were comparatively few renegades. The Inquisition had altered the situation, and now the dread of exile was less than that of the Holy Office and the stake.

There was boundless mutual helpfulness; the rich aided the poor, and they made ready as best they could to face the perils of the unknown future. Before starting, all the boys and girls over twelve were married. Early in July the exodus commenced, and no better idea of this pilgrimage of grief can be conveyed than by the simple narrative of the good *cura* of Palacios. Disregarding, he says, the wealth they left behind, and confiding in the blind hope that God would lead them to the promised land, they left their homes, great and small, old and young, on foot, on horseback, on asses or other beasts or in wagons, some falling, others rising, some dying, others being born, others falling sick. There was no Christian who did not pity them: everywhere they were invited to conversion, and some were baptized, but very few, for the rabbis encouraged them, and made the women and children play on the timbrel. Those who went to Cadiz hoped that God would open a path for them across the sea; but they stayed there many days, suffering much, and many wished that they had never been born. From Aragon and Catalonia they put to sea for Italy or the Moorish lands or whithersoever fortune might drive them. Most of them had evil fate, robbery, and murder by sea and in the lands of their refuge. This is shown by the fate of those who sailed from Cadiz. They had to embark in twenty-five ships, of which the captain was Pero Cabron; they sailed for Oran, where they found the corsair Fragoso and his fleet; they promised him ten thousand ducats not to molest them, to which he agreed, but night came on, and they sailed for Arcilla (a Spanish settlement in Morocco), where a tempest scattered them. Sixteen ships put into Cartagena, where a hundred and fifty souls landed and asked for baptism; then the fleet went to Malaga, where four hundred more did the same. The rest reached Arcilla and went to Fez. Multitudes also sailed from Gibraltar to Arcilla . . . but they were robbed on the journey and their wives and daughters were violated (i. 139).

NUMBER OF EXILES.

Fire and pestilence, murder and rapine made their fate so unendurable in Morocco, that many sought to return to their native land. So much so, that Ferdinand and Isabella set guards to keep them out unless they had money to support themselves. In 1499 an edict was issued forbidding Jews to return even for baptism unless this had been previously notarially sanctioned. Lea's estimate of the number of exiles is comparatively low. He thinks even Loeb's calculation of 165,000 emigrants, 50,000 baptized, and 20,000 Jews is too large, but, says he, the sum of human misery was incomputable, "yet such were the convictions of the period... that this crime against humanity met with nothing but applause among contemporaries" (i. 143). The sober view of our author is confirmed by a letter from Castile to Rome and Lombardy in 1487, found by Prof. A. Marx in the binding of a book belonging to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, which has just been published[1]. This gives the number of Jewish families in Castile as only 14,000. From Granada, a local authority of the eighteenth century states that 420 Jews, belonging to 120 families, proceeded under Isabella's decree of March 3, 1492[2]. The sovereigns who exiled them were in 1495 granted the proud title of Catholic Monarchs, but the edict of expulsion proclaimed to the world "the policy which in its continuous development did so much for the abasement of Spain. At the same time it closed the career of avowed Jews in the Spanish dominions. Henceforth we shall meet with them as apostate Christians, the occasion and the victims of the Inquisition" (i. 144).

[1] *J. Q. R.*, XX, 247.

[2] Noticias varias de . . . Granada . . . por Don Josef Domº Chantoli . . . Año de 1784 (MS. Adler).

XVI.

JUDAIZERS.

Their change of religion was not altogether an advantage. As Jews they enjoyed complete freedom of faith, in which they were subjected only to their own Rabbis, and under the jurisdiction of their own not always lenient Courts of Justice (*Beth Din*). But, once members of the Church, they became amenable to its laws for any aberration from orthodoxy. Now Rabbinical Judaism so entwines itself

with every detail of the believer's daily life, and attaches so much importance to the observances which it enjoins, that it was impossible for whole communities thus suddenly Christianized to abandon the rites and usages which, through so many generations, had become a part of existence itself. Earnest converts might have brought up their children as Christians, and the grandchildren might have outgrown the old customs, but the Conversos could not be earnest converts, and the sacred traditions, handed down by father to son from the days of the Sanhedrin, were too precious to be set aside. The Anusim, as they were known to their Hebrew brethren, thus were unwilling Christians, practising what Jewish rites they dared, and it was held to be the duty of all Jews to bring them back to the true faith (*i.* 145).

And so one found councillors of state and even bishops inclined to "Judaize"—a new word coined to exemplify a new habit—and this is suggested as the ground of an application by Juan II in 1451 to introduce the Inquisition for the chastisement of Judaizing Christians. But papal authority did not suffice for the organization of the Inquisition. To Rome the Spaniard had never shown very much respect. It was on the secular power that the Spanish Inquisition relied for its efficiency, even as it was to the secular arm that it handed its victims. *En passant*, Lea quotes from the *Fortalicium Fidei* of Fray Alonso de Espina (whom he declares to be an Old Christian and no apostate) a curious reference to the Khozars which has escaped the notice of historians less painstaking and less

learned.[1] Alexander the Great, says Fray Alonso, "shut the Jews up in the mountains of the Caspian adjoining the realms of the great khan or monarch of Cathay. There, between the castles of Gog and Magog, confined by an enchanted wall, they have multiplied, until now they are numerous enough to fill twenty-four kingdoms. When Antichrist comes they will break loose and rally around him, as likewise will all the Jews of the Diaspora, for they will regard him as their promised Messiah" (i. 150).

XVII.

INQUISITION ESTABLISHED.

There was a prolonged struggle at court before the Inquisition was adopted. Ferdinand and Isabella, habitually jealous of papal encroachments, did not at once respond to the papal zeal for the purity of the faith. Modern apologists, says Lea, err in assuming that it was from humanitarian motives that they delayed. They desired "not the ordinary papal Inquisition, but one which should be under the royal control, and should pour into the royal treasury the resultant confiscations." The Papal Bull for its authorization was dated November 1, 1478, and in a characteristic note Lea comments on the singularity of the fact that the Inquisition possessed very few documents relating to its early history, and from a *consulta* of July 18, 1703, he infers that they were in a chest which disappeared on the arrest of the secretary of Philip III. He points out that when Innocent VIII renewed Cardinal Torquemada's commission from Spain on March 28, 1486, it was only "ad nostrum et dictae sedis beneplacitum," whereas in the case of Torquemada's successors this formula was abandoned. But in a Bull dated April 9 of the same year the pope confirms

[1] Fray Alonso evidently derived his story from one of the versions of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.

Torquemada as inquisitor-general of Castile and Arragon absolutely and without this qualification, and expressly directs that appeals from Inquisitors shall be "non ad nos seu sedem Apostolicam sed ad te"—not to the pope, but to Torquemada. A certified copy of this bull under seal dated July, 1703, was acquired in Madrid just two centuries later, with a large number of other documents[1]. The seller stated that they came from the estate of a family whose ancestor had been secretary of the Inquisition. Possibly this was Llorente himself, who in a letter dated December 12, 1822, which was acquired in Paris, explains that he is to return to Madrid, having been expelled from France for publishing books much opposed to the doctrine and ideas of the French Government. The copy was evidently made in connexion with the search for documents by the Suprema to which Lea refers. Anyhow the Inquisition was first established in Seville, whence many of the Conversos had fled to the lands of the neighbouring nobles "in the expectation that feudal jurisdictions would protect them even against a spiritual court such as that of the Inquisition" (i. 161). Others preferred resistance to flight, but their plot was betrayed by a fair woman, the daughter of one of their number, Diego Susan, and five of them were burned at a great auto de fé on February 6, 1481, and the parricide daughter lived to regret her infamy. She left a convent to follow a career of shame, and, when she died in want, directed that her skull should be placed as a warning over the door of her house, where it is still to be seen in the Calle del Artaud near its entrance hard by the Alcázar.

The first tribunal was established at Ciudad-Real in 1483 for the province of Toledo, to which city it was transferred two years later, perhaps because the archbishop was specially zealous for the faith. An "Edict of Grace" was

[1] See Documents published in the *Revue des Études Juives* in vols. XLVIII–L, and in the *J. Q. R.*, some of which Lea quotes in the third and fourth vols., together with other documents not yet published.

promulgated for a period of two months. This was a fiendish device to enable such as felt themselves in danger to come forward, confess, and be reconciled to the Church upon terms that they divulged all they knew of other heretics. Terrorized cowards scrupled not to denounce their nearest and dearest. At one auto de fé no less than 1,500 such penitents were exhibited. The testimony thus obtained indicates the careless security in which the Conversos had lived, and allowed their Jewish practices to be known to Christian servants and acquaintances.

XVIII.

HEBREW PRINTING IN SPAIN.

In the *Revue des Études Juives*, 1907, Mitrani-Sarmian, in an interesting article, proves the existence of a Hebrew printer in Spain before 1481. In that year one Ganso deposed that, when he lived at Montalban, Juan de Lucena used to print Hebrew books there, which he sold in the land of the Moors in Granada. Lucena's daughters also printed Hebrew books, and five out of the six were prosecuted by the Inquisition. In addition to the authorities quoted in the article there is a reference to Teresa de Lucena, then the widow of Juan de Idrada, in the *Catálogo de Toledo* (p. 204). She was condemned in 1549, and the documents of her trial are preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (bundle 163, No. 525). The whole question of Hebrew incunables in Spain has yet to be investigated. Copies of only nine such are known to be extant, but the fragments from the Cairo Genizah contain pages from at least as many more, including the Spanish Prayer Book (Cituri, i.e. Siddur, en Romance) and Spanish Bible (Biblia romançada) referred to in Mitrani-Sarmian's documents. Most of these must have been destroyed. Already in 1490 a large number of Hebrew Bibles and other Jewish books were burnt, and "soon afterwards in Salamanca it consigned to the flames in

an auto some six thousand volumes of works on Judaism and Sorcery" (iii. 480).

It is only natural to suppose that the first Hebrew books were printed in Spain before February, 1475, the date of the earliest known Hebrew incunable. The Jews of Spain were in those days wealthier and more intellectual than their Italian brethren. Significantly enough that very book was printed in Reggio di Calabria, at that time part of Spanish Italy, and the character of its type is distinctly Spanish.

XIX.

PROCEDURE.

Another device of the Inquisition was to summon the Jewish rabbis and require them under penalty of death and confiscation to "place major excommunication on their synagogues, and not remove it until the members should have revealed everything within their knowledge respecting Judaizing Christians" (i. 168). In Seville, Judah Ibn-Verga expatriated himself to avoid compliance with such a demand. This was the famous author of the *Shebet Jehuda*, whose work was continued and published by his son in Adrianople in 1554. Lea gives full details of the establishment of tribunals in the various provinces. He points out how, from the first, the procedure was differentiated from that of the Papal Inquisition which had been so effective in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries throughout Europe. Ferdinand and Isabella intended the Spanish Inquisition to be a national institution strongly organized and owing obedience to the Crown much more than to the Holy See. It had become an affair of State of the first importance, but did not come within the purview of the four royal councils, among whom since 1480 the affairs of government were distributed. Accordingly a fifth council was appointed called the "Council of the Supreme and General Inquisition," with jurisdiction over all matters

connected with the faith. "La Suprema," as it was called for short, like the other councils, met daily in the palace for dispatch of business, but it soon burst through its courtly trammels and became vastly more important. Its president was a new official of almost boundless power, the President or Inquisitor-General. The Papal Brief appointing Torquemada, the royal choice, has never been found, but it must have been earlier than October 17, 1483. Under his guidance the Inquisition rapidly took shape, and extended its organization throughout Spain. It was untiring and remorseless in the pursuit and punishment of apostates. The popes praised Torquemada for his labours. Thus the infamous Borgia, Alexander VI, "assures him in 1496 that he cherishes him in the very bowels of affection for his immense labours in the exaltation of the faith" (i. 174). Torquemada, though himself an ascetic, dwelt in palaces surrounded by a princely retinue. He accumulated vast wealth, but lived in perpetual fear of assassination. It was owing to his zeal that verdicts of acquittal were so infrequent in the early days. He became so mighty that the Curia took alarm, and there were frequent quarrels between him and the papal nominees. "There was a constant struggle on the one hand to render the Spanish Holy Office national and independent, and on the other to keep it subject to papal control" (i. 178).

JURISDICTION OVER CLERICS.

Special faculties were required to degrade ecclesiastics condemned by the Inquisition. So long as they were in orders, clerics were exempt from secular jurisdiction, and it was necessary to degrade them before they could be delivered to the civil authorities for burning. This was a serious impediment, as many Judaizing Conversos were found among clerics. In 1516 Charles V made his tutor, Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, Inquisitor-General of Aragon, and six years later, by the like influence, he became pope, successor and predecessor of the two famous

Medicean popes. Lea then proceeds to deal with the various "Instrucciones Antiguas" or rules which governed the Inquisitorial Court. The first collective print under Inquisitor-General Manrique was issued in Seville in 1537, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library. The only other copy known was found by the writer of these lines at Lima bound up with the manuscript instructions given by Cardinal Espinosa for the appointment of the American Inquisition in 1569.

CONFISCATIONS.

The Inquisition soon became autonomous—an *imperium in imperio*—with all the resources of the State at its disposal. No wonder its terror spread over the land and thousands sought safety in flight. Statistics of the early autos de fé show that their living victims were far outnumbered by the effigies of the absent. If the object of the Inquisition had simply been

to purify the land of heresy and apostasy, this would have been accomplished as well by expatriation as by burning or reconciling, but such was not the policy which governed the sovereigns, and edicts were issued forbidding all of Jewish lineage from leaving Spain, and imposing a fine of five hundred florins on shipmasters conveying them away. This was not, as it might seem to us, wanton cruelty, although it was harsh, inasmuch as it assumed guilt on mere suspicion. To say nothing of the confiscations, which were defrauded of the portable property carried away by the fugitives, we must bear in mind that, to the orthodox of the period, heresy was a positive crime, nay, the greatest of crimes, punishable as such by laws in force for centuries, and the heretic was to be prevented from escaping its penalties as much as a murderer or a thief (i. 183).

Again, in 1502 the Inquisition obtained a royal edict ordering "that no ship-captain or merchant should transport across seas any New Christian, whether Jewish or Moorish, without a royal licence," and officers were sent to the seaports to arrest any such (i. 184). Naturally power so irresponsible was often abused, and Lea notes that

Ferdinand was as a rule prompt to intervene in favour of the oppressed. He bids the inquisitor remember that the only object of the Inquisition is the salvation of souls. The king's correspondence shows what a sincere bigot he was. After witnessing the auto de fé in Valladolid in September, 1509, he writes to express the great pleasure which it had given him as a means of advancing the honour and glory of God and the exaltation of the Holy Catholic faith. Inquisitors were in the habit of sending to him, as well as to the Suprema, "Relaciones" or reports of the autos they celebrated, and he would acknowledge receipt in terms of high satisfaction.

XX.

RESISTANCE TO THE INQUISITION: LUCERO.

A quarter of a century elapsed before there was any serious resistance to the Inquisition. Lucero the inquisitor made himself prominent by his excesses at Cordova, and produced a veritable reign of terror, and the favour shown to him seems to have been due to the pecuniary results of his activity. While elsewhere the confiscations which had at first contributed largely to the royal treasury were diminishing, their productiveness at Cordova rapidly grew.

Lea shrewdly suggests that redistribution of offices was an element which at first reconciled the Old Christians to the Inquisition. These had been largely in the hands of Conversos. They had to vacate them, and the vacancies thus created passed into the hands of the receivers, and were distributed by the sovereigns as favour or policy might dictate. The Conversos, realizing that it was useless to appeal to Ferdinand, had recourse to Philip, whose wife, Juana, Ferdinand's daughter, governed Castile for him as titular queen. She and her husband issued a cedula to the inquisitor, Don Deza, suspending the Inquisition until they arrived in Castile, but no attention was paid to this

command. They were aware (i. 196) that their "action had produced a bad impression, for the people were hostile to the Conversos, and there was talk of massacres like that of Lisbon"—a curious anticipation of the Black Bands of Russia in 1906. After Isabella's death, Lucero saw a chance of striking at the highest quarry yet aimed at, Talavera, the veteran archbishop of Granada. Though he had a Jewish strain in his blood, he was reverenced as the pattern and exemplar of all Christian virtues. Lucero selected a woman whom he had tortured on the charge of being a Jewish prophetess and maintaining a synagogue in her house. He threatened her with further torture unless she testified that she had seen things he suggested in a room at Talavera's palace, imputing Judaism to the archbishop and his whole family and household. As bishops were outside the direct jurisdiction of the Suprema, Ferdinand was induced to apply to Rome for authorization to prosecute Talavera. The papal commission for his trial was dispatched in June, 1506, but meantime a court intrigue gave the Conversos a short respite. Queen Juana, whose story, says Lea, "is one of the saddest in the annals of royalty, and her treatment by her father, husband, and son is a libel on human nature," was locked up as insane, her husband Philip assumed the government, and proving amenable to the golden arguments of the Conversos, opposed the Inquisition (i. 200). Lucero tried to anticipate his fall by burning all his prisoners so as to get them out of the way, but after an auto de fé arranged for the purpose had been announced, there came orders from the sovereigns which fortunately prevented the holocaust, and Lucero and some of his colleagues were removed from Cordova.

This triumph of the Conversos was short-lived, for the sudden death of Philip enabled Deza to restore Lucero to power. Pope Julius II was appealed to in vain. He wrote Deza that the Jews pretending to be Christians who had dared to rise against the Inquisition must be exterminated root and branch. But again the reaction in favour of the

Inquisition did not last long, for the rival factions of the two grandfathers of Charles V, Maximilian I and Ferdinand, each striving for the regency during his minority, both desired support from the Conversos. Political intrigues resulted in the famous Bible Cardinal Ximenes, as president of a "Congregación Católica" or Royal Commission, pronouncing sentence on Valladolid in July, 1508, restoring the honour of Castile and Andalusia which had been so deeply compromised by the pretended revelations extorted by Lucero, and declaring that there was no ground for the asserted existence of synagogues, the preaching of sermons, and the assembling of missionaries of Judaism. But the interests involved in the confiscations were too many and too powerful for the victims to obtain justice. Ferdinand was determined to undo the results achieved by Ximenes. The trial of Lucero became a farce, he was dismissed from his office without further punishment. Though Lucero was an exceptional monster, it may safely be assumed (i. 211) that the temptations of secrecy and irresponsibility rendered frightful abuses, if not universal, at least frequent. Other communities also appealed to Philip during his short reign, and the details set out in their petitions seem incredible. In Cordova, one witness, a perjurer, drunkard, gambler, forger, and clipper of coins, sufficed to crowd the gaol of Cordova with 200 victims. The notary of the tribunal on one occasion locked a young girl of fifteen in a room, stripped her naked, and scourged her till she consented to bear testimony against her own mother. A prisoner was carried in a chair to the auto de fé with his feet burnt to the bone. When property was confiscated it could be bought cheap, and so informers told of heretics. With Ferdinand's death in 1516 the Inquisition proved to be too firmly rooted to be essentially reformed. The will of Ferdinand, executed the day before his death in 1516, solemnly adjured his grandson and successor Charles V to labour with all his strength to destroy and extirpate heresy and appoint ministers God-fearing and of good

conscience to conduct the Inquisition. The successor of Ximenes as inquisitor-general was the emperor's tutor, Adrian, afterwards pope, who, though well-intentioned, was weak and confiding, but who ultimately acquired a complete ascendancy over Charles in favour of the Holy Office.

CHARLES V.

Charles V, a youth of seventeen, was as clay in the hands of the potter, surrounded by grasping Flemish favourites, whose sole object, as far as concerned Spain, was to sell their influence to the highest bidder. During the interval before his coming to take possession of his new dominions, he fluctuated in accordance with the pressure which happened momentarily to be strongest. The Spaniards who came to his court gave fearful accounts of the Inquisition, which they said was ruining Spain, and we are told that his counsellors were mostly Conversos who had obtained their positions by purchase. In the prologue to his subsequent abortive project of reform, Charles says that while in Flanders he received many complaints about the Inquisition, which he submitted to famous men of learning and to colleges and universities, and his proposed action was in accordance with their advice. Ximenes was alive to the danger, and it was doubtless by his impulsion that the Council of Castile wrote to Charles that "the peace of the kingdom and the maintenance of his authority depended on his support of the Inquisition" (i. 216). Charles continued to vacillate, proposing at one time to banish from his court all those of Jewish blood, at another to forbid the suppression of the names of witnesses, one of the crowning atrocities of the Inquisition, but a privilege for the abrogation of which Ferdinand and Isabella had refused a bribe of 1,200,000 ducats. This uncertainty as to the views of Charles sensibly diminished the awe felt for the Inquisition. When Charles, after his arrival in Spain, held his first Cortes at Valladolid in 1518, the

deputies petitioned him. They formally complained of the Inquisition and showed that the people felt the whole Office to be an engine of oppression for the furtherance of private ends and to the disregard of law and justice. His chancellor thereupon attempted some reform, but on his death the scheme was dropped, though Charles, in congratulating Adrian on his elevation to the papacy in 1522, suggests that he should be careful in his appointments, and provide the proper means to prevent the Inquisition from punishing the innocent, and its officials from thinking more about the property of the condemned than the salvation of their souls. Various offers were made by the New Christians, as well as by the Moriscos, to bribe Charles to remove secrecy from the procedure, and to give the inquisitors salaries and not pay them by results, but all these efforts proved futile, and the Inquisition continued to shroud its acts in impenetrable darkness.

XXI.

ASSASSINATION OF ARBUES.

In Aragon, although founded as early as 1238, the Inquisition had sunk into a condition almost dormant during the spiritual lethargy of the century preceding the Reformation, but greed and fanaticism joined hands at the prospect of wealthy Conversos to be punished, and so the re-organized tribunal of Valencia was vigorously started in 1482. Pope Sixtus, in response to appeals and bribes, intervened, but Ferdinand satirically writes that if the pope has thus yielded to the cunning persuasions of the New Christians, he, the king, did not intend ever to allow them to take effect. The poor Conversos of Aragon, like those of Castile, were merely used as pawns in the pitiless game of king and pope over their despoilment. The establishment of the Inquisition met with similar opposition in Valencia, Saragossa, and Teruel. But the assassination of inquisitor Arbues in 1485 produced a revulsion of

feeling in Saragossa. There was danger not only that the Conversos would be massacred, but that the Juderías and Morerías would be sacked. Ferdinand and Isabella obtained from Innocent VIII in 1487 a Bull ordering all princes and rulers to seize and deliver to the Inquisition of Spain any fugitives from its justice. This practically outlawed all refugees, and when Portugal obtained its Inquisition an agreement was come to between the two countries that the fugitive was to be tried in the country where he was captured, and the Inquisition from which he had fled was to furnish the evidence. This is the reason that we meet with so many Portuguese victims in the Spanish autos-de-fé. The Spanish tribunals had jurisdiction over Portuguese refugees in Spain.

This assassination of Arbues gave the Inquisition ample opportunity to make a profound impression. By the punishment of fifty or sixty individuals, Arbues was sufficiently avenged, and the sanbenitos of the convicts were hung as customary in the cathedral of Saragossa, where they are still to be seen. Luis de Santangel was one of the culprits beheaded and burnt for the crime. He was a descendant of Rabbi Azarias Ginillo. His cousin, who advanced to Isabella the 16,000 ducats which enabled Columbus to discover the New World, was penanced in 1491.

CATALONIA AND THE BALEARIC ISLES.

Catalonia, though more intractable than her sister kingdoms, had eventually to yield to Ferdinand's unchangeable determination that the Inquisition should perform its work. Barcelona submitted to its first auto in 1498, but furnished only four living victims and the effigies of twelve fugitives! Ferdinand's declaration that no *fuero* or law should obstruct the Inquisition, but that its jurisdiction was supreme over all others, became practically engrafted upon Spanish common law, but even Ferdinand was powerless to suppress the official malfeasance of knavish receivers. He rebuked

them but did not punish, and this tenderness for malfeasance continued throughout the career of the Inquisition.

In the Balearic Isles the delay in introducing the Inquisition gave opportunity for flight, so that for years the chief business of the tribunal in the kingdom of Majorca was the condemnation of fugitives. Thus in one auto of 1493 there were but three relaxations in person to forty-seven in effigy, and in 1497 not a single living victim was punished, and the only excitement provided was the burning of the bones of one dead heretic and of fifty-nine in effigy. Yet horrible abuses were no less rife in the Balearic Isles than elsewhere. The Concordia of Monzon proposed some reforms and "there is a hideous suggestiveness in the provision that, when perjured testimony has led to the execution of an innocent man, the inquisitors shall do justice, and shall not prevent the king from punishing the false witnesses" (i. 271).

XXII.

LEO X.

Leo X, distinguished though he was as a cultured aesthete, does not shine in Lea's book. When Ferdinand died, his Holiness sat on the fence. He waited to know whether the new monarch Charles desired to continue the policy of his grandfather, but, though he dispensed Ferdinand from his oath of observing the Concordias, he did in 1516 most solemnly confirm them in his Bull *Pastoralis Officii*, in which he declared that the officials of the Inquisition transgressed the bounds of reason, and he subjected those who contravened the ordinary and ecclesiastical secular law to excommunication. Still the inquisitors remained persistently arrogant under royal favour, and the people struggled in vain for relief from their oppression. The Holy Office had become part

of the settled policy of the House of Austria in their war against Jews and Lutherans.

The system grew to be an integral part of the national institutions to be uprooted only by the cataclysm of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic war. At what cost to the people this was effected is seen in the boast, in 1638, of a learned official of the Inquisition that, in its favour, the monarchs had succeeded in breaking down the municipal laws and privileges of their kingdoms which otherwise would have presented insuperable obstacles to the extermination of heresy, and he proceeds to enumerate the various restrictions on the arbitrary power of the secular courts which the experience of ages had framed for the protection of the citizen from oppression, all of which had been swept away where the Inquisition was concerned, leaving the subject to the discretion of the inquisitor (i. 288).

COMBINATION OF SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL POWER.

The second book deals with the relations of the Inquisition with the State, but these are technical matters which, though interesting in themselves and important, need not be here considered at any length. The Spanish Inquisition owed its terrible efficiency to its combining the mysterious authority of the Church with the secular power of the Crown. It wielded both the spiritual and the temporal swords, and the combination produced a tyranny similar to that "which England suffered during the closing years of Henry VIII as supreme head of the Church" (i. 289). Ferdinand did not want the Inquisition to be independent of the Crown. During his life he maintained control, but under Charles V it began to develop practical independence. This was due to Adrian's influence over Charles. Philip II, for all his ridiculous love of detail, did not interfere with the inquisitor-general's responsibility, though, at one auto in Toledo in 1615, he exercised the royal prerogative by increasing a Lutheran's punishment to perpetual imprisonment and adding 200 lashes. Cardinal Espinosa, the inquisitor-general who established the Inquisition in America, died in 1572 in consequence of a reproof from Philip II. The succeeding kings were feeble, and always

yielded to the superior strength of mind of the Suprema, but in 1700, with the accession of Philip V, a Bourbon, who brought from France a Gallicanism and principles of high royal prerogative quite incompatible with the pretensions of the Curia and quasi-independence of the Inquisition, a new era opened in the relations between the Crown and the Holy Office.

XXIII.

REFORMS ATTEMPTED.

In 1714 steps were taken to reform the Inquisition so as to render it an instrument for executing the royal will and avoid the invasions of the royal jurisdiction which had been so constant and audacious. Dr. Dellon had led the attack upon the Inquisition, but years elapsed before it confessed itself beaten. The Crown insisted on its right to select the heads of the Inquisition, but its practical control was weakened by the claim of the Suprema to interpose between the king and the tribunals, insisting that the royal commands must pass through the Suprema, and thus substituting bureaucracy for autocracy. In the Suprema, a century and more before the advent of the Austrians, a convenient phrase had been coined, *obedecer y no cumplir*, "to obey but not to execute," and thus nullify the royal wishes. Lea dilates upon the power acquired by the Suprema through its practical, though not theoretical, financial independence of the sovereign from the earliest times. The American Inquisition were flagrant offenders. Between 1630 and 1650, when the whole trading communities of Peru and Mexico were shattered, the tribunals became immensely rich, but no royal official was allowed to penetrate into their pecuniary secrets. Philip V, however, reasserted the right of the Crown to confiscation, and by 1727 forced the Suprema to restore the confiscations, and that was the real death blow of the Inquisition. Under the House of Bourbon the subordination of the Inquisition

became recognized, whilst its jurisdiction was curtailed and its influence diminished.

At every auto de fé a notary of the Inquisition held up a cross and made the people raise their hands and swear oaths of obedience to the Inquisition, and when the sovereign was present, besides the general oath he had to take a special one. In 1588 in Lima there was great scandal when the inquisitors claimed precedence over the Viceroy of Peru, and carried their point by excommunicating him. The inviolability claimed by the Inquisition for all its servants was a privilege that made the institution so very obnoxious to people as well as to Crown. It was a recognized theory with the Holy Office that scandal was more to be dreaded than crime, and so the inquisitors enforced respect for its authority by sheltering even criminals if they were in their service. The struggle was a long one, in which religion was in no way concerned, for the Holy Office sought to arrogate to itself control over a constantly widening area of secular affairs while claiming release from secular obligations.

PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS: BENEFIT OF CLERGY.

We can pass rapidly over the chapters dealing with the privileges and exemptions claimed by the Holy Office. Its officials claimed to be exempt from taxation and customs, from billeting of troops and military service, while proudly insisting on the right to bear arms and hold secular office, and the right of asylum. Even as late as 1818, the Suprema succeeded in obtaining a royal order exempting the salaries of its officials from income tax (i. 384). From the first, the Inquisition had been worked upon commercial lines, regardless of the protests and opposition of the cities whose revenues were impaired and whose laws were ostentatiously disregarded. It exploited its exemptions from taxation and octroi duties by opening shops for the necessaries of life. The abuse of its power for unlawful gains and benefits

excited exasperation even among those most zealous in the extermination of heresy.

Lea next devotes a long chapter (i. 427 seq.) to the consideration of the exclusive jurisdiction which it sought to establish over all who were connected with it, not only between inquisitors, but between them and the rest of the community.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the benefit of clergy exempted clerics from the jurisdiction of the laity. Already in 1488 Ferdinand issued a *cédula* that no secular tribunal was to take cognizance of anything that concerned ministers and familiars of the Inquisition (i. 429). This enabled laymen subject to the secular courts to obtain immunity for their crimes on the pretext of being familiars. In doubtful cases, the evidence was to be sent to the court of the king, and a majority was to decide as to the jurisdiction. This process of adjudicating disputes became known as *competencia*. But the Inquisition never scrupled to excommunicate even the royal judges if they ventured to try a person whom it claimed as one of its officials. Thus all criminal judges lived in an atmosphere of dread lest, at any moment, the honest discharge of their functions might precipitate them into a disastrous conflict with the tribunal. After protracted effort, a Concordia was granted to Valencia in 1554 limiting the inquisitors in their right of interference, but the inquisitors took great care that the new Concordia should not be printed, and as a fact it was never published for general information. The Inquisition seems to have spared no pains to make itself detested, and thus it is not surprising that by 1677 the Suprema had so fallen in public esteem that, for instance, in Barcelona it was able to secure but one familiar. Wherever a province retained institutions through which public opinion could assert itself, as in Castile or Aragon, stubborn resistance was offered to the arrogant pretensions of the Inquisition, but in all these struggles there was no question of freedom of conscience, and no desire to limit

the effectiveness of the Holy Office as the guardian of purity of faith.

The Castilian, like the Catalan, looked with exultation on the triumph over heresy in the autos-de-fé, and he desired only to set bounds to the intrusion of the Inquisition on the field of secular justice (i. 486).

XXIV.

CONFLICT WITH COURTS SPIRITUAL AND SECULAR.

The spiritual courts as well as the secular had perpetual conflicts with the Inquisition (i. 493). Notoriously lax as were the episcopal courts with offenders of the cloth, the Inquisition had the reputation of still greater indulgence towards those who were under its protection. In cases of conflict an appeal lay only to the Suprema, for Spain's traditional jealousy of the interference of Rome made it impossible to appeal to the Holy See. Ultimately in 1612 some sort of compromise was effected by a royal decree that episcopal Ordinaries should have exclusive jurisdiction over offences relating to clerical duties and offices, to simony and spiritual matters, while inquisitors should have cumulative jurisdiction with the Ordinaries, depending on priority of action, in public and scandalous offences such as incontinence, usury, gambling, and the like. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a quarrel arose between the government of Majorca and the Inquisition, and, as the Mallorquin tribunal had claims to consideration arising from vigorous proceedings against Judaizers and the large resultant confiscations, the Suprema supported it against the pope himself.

THE JUNTA MAGNA.

In 1696 a serious effort was made to effect a radical reform of the abuses of the Inquisition by a Royal Commission known as the "Junta Magna," which drew up a "Consulta Magna" (i. 511). This memorial constituted a terrible

indictment of the abuses by the Inquisition of its temporal jurisdiction, with ample proof of flagrant cases and its graft, followed by a consideration of possible remedies, but this too was consigned to the limbo in which reposed so many previous memorials. The inquisitor-general worked upon the king through his confessor. When Philip V called for it in 1701, no copy could be found in the archives! It is true that, for a special reason, hereafter referred to, there was for some years a recrudescence in heretic baiting and more autos de fé are recorded between 1714 and 1726 than for generations previously and after. In 1703 the King did make an attempt at reform, but his vacillation was such that nothing came of it. But the eighteenth century would no longer tolerate the abuses which had been so common in the seventeenth. The lay tribunals would not brook interference by the Suprema, nor did they mind interdicts and excommunications. Step by step its old privileges were curtailed. In 1734 Philip decided that a salaried officer should be tried by the ordinary courts. In 1747 Fernando VI gave the Council of Castile jurisdiction over the officials of the Inquisition. Remonstrances were not wanting, but proved ineffectual. The resolute Carlos III was even more assertive of the royal prerogative than his brother Fernando, and in 1763 entirely removed familiars, as laymen, from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.

Such conflicts of jurisdiction between the lay tribunals and that of the Inquisition, and the attempted settlement thereof by the process of *competencia*, are very fully detailed by Dr. Lea, but they are not without parallel in our own country, where, until the Judicature Acts, there was a joint jurisdiction of the courts of Equity and Common Law, each jealous of the other, and each desirous of catching all litigants in its net. But the Spanish Court had an irritating habit of refusing the form of *competencias* on the ground that its rights were too clear to admit of debate. From 1634 a Junta did exist, composed of two members each

of the Suprema and Council of Castile, to settle disputes, but the Junta rarely met, and if it did the two pairs of members always voted on opposite sides and produced a deadlock, until in 1721 Philip V decreed that a fifth member should be appointed, so that a majority was always assured. It is to the irritating arrogance of the Inquisition rather than to its cruelty that Lea attributes the detestation that it excited.

If the people regarded it as a whole with awe and veneration as the bulwark of the Catholic Faith, their hatred was none the less for its members, and the perpetual struggle against the tremendous odds of its power, supported by the unflinching favour of the Hapsburgs, bears equal testimony to the tenacity of the Spanish character and to the magnitude of the evils with which the Inquisition afflicted the nation (i. 525).

XXV.

ABUSES.

None can doubt the truth of Spinoza's theme in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, that freedom of thought cannot be denied without danger both to public peace and true piety. Spinoza himself was of a Marrano family which had suffered through the Inquisition, and its horrors doubtless influenced his thought.

Lea writes throughout with studied moderation, but even he cannot repress his feeling of indignation as he details the various abuses that prompted popular hostility. One curious detail is worth mentioning which is paralleled in our own country. The familiars of the Inquisition could not be restrained from trading, and traders in fact eagerly sought the position in order to have the Inquisition at their back, so as to secure unfair advantages over their competitors. This is an abuse which has been found to attach to consular officials also, so that it has become almost a dogma in modern practice to refuse consulships except to the diplomatic service, and, to avoid mercantile consuls so far as possible.

The decadence of the Inquisition in the eighteenth century, though it diminished its powers of oppression, failed to allay the persistent antagonism it excited. Spaniards abhorred Jews and heretics, but they dreaded and detested the Inquisition for abusing its privileges in matters wholly apart from its functions as the guardian of the faith.

TORTURE.

The third volume, like the first, is of more special interest to the Jews, nearly a quarter dealing either directly or indirectly with them. We pass over the preliminary chapters with regard to Torture and the Trial, and also the seventh book, which deals with Punishment under the respective headings of "The Sentence," "Minor Penalties," "Harsher Penalties," "The Stake," and "The Auto-de-Fé," but one or two points may be referred to. Lea very fairly says that the Spanish Inquisition was not responsible for the introduction of torture, and that it was less frequent and less cruelly applied than by the secular courts, but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel, and we see that there was no absolute limitation on the severity of torture, and indeed in some cases it was resorted to, time and again. Many cases are recorded in which the accused submitted to torture without confession, and in several the immediate pain of the torture might cause a confession which would be followed by a revocation of the confession, and then torture again, and again revocation. Thus in 1643 Engracia Rodriguez, 60 years of age, had a toe wrenched off while in the *balestillón*, and then an arm was broken. The torture was stopped without a confession having been extorted, but ten months later she confessed to Jewish practices. Many victims died under torture, and though it is ghastly reading, nothing can perhaps better bring home to us what this torture meant—and, as Lea says, it was only the "very moderate case of water torture"—than to reproduce here part of a quotation from the official report given by Lea. This was in the case of a Jewess, Elvira del Campo,

who was tortured on April 6, 1568, by the tribunal of Toledo. She was accused of not eating pork and of putting on of clean linen on Saturdays! She admitted the acts but denied heretical intent, and was tortured on intention.

She was carried to the torture-chamber and told to tell the truth, when she said that she had nothing to say. She was ordered to be stripped and again admonished, but was silent. When stripped, she said, "Señores, I have done all that is said of me and I bear false witness against myself, for I do not want to see myself in such trouble; please God, I have done nothing." She was told not to bring false testimony against herself, but to tell the truth. The tying of the arms was commenced; she said, "I have told the truth: what have I to tell?" She was told to tell the truth, and replied, "I have told the truth and have nothing to tell." One cord was applied to the arms and twisted, and she was admonished to tell the truth, but she had nothing to tell. Then she screamed and said, "I have done all they say." Told to tell in detail what she had done, she replied, "I have already told the truth." Then she screamed and said, "I have done all they say. Tell me what you want, for I don't know what to say." She was told to tell what she had done, for she was tortured because she had not done so, and another turn of the cord was ordered. She cried, "Loosen me, Señores, and tell me what I have to say; I do not know what I have done. O Lord, have mercy on me, a sinner!" Another turn was given. She said, "Loosen me a little that I may remember what I have to tell; I don't know what I have done; I did not eat pork, for it made me sick. I have done everything. Loosen me, and I will tell the truth." Another turn of the cord was ordered, when she said, "Loosen me, and I will tell the truth. I don't know what I have to tell; loosen me for the sake of God. Tell me what I have to say; I did it, I did it. They hurt me, Señores. Loosen me, loosen me, and I will tell it." She was told to tell it, and said, "I don't know what I have to tell—Señor, I did it—I have nothing to tell—oh, my arms, release me, and I will tell it." She was asked to tell what she did, and said, "I don't know; I did not eat because I did not wish to." She was asked why she did not wish to, and replied, "Ay! loosen me, loosen me; take me from here, and I will tell it when I am taken away—I say that I did not eat it." She was told to speak, and said, "I did not eat it, I don't know why." Another turn was ordered, and she said, "Señor, I did not eat it because I did not want to—release me, and I will tell it." She was told to tell what she had done contrary to our holy Catholic Faith. She said, "Take me from here, and tell me

what I have to say—they hurt me—oh, my arms, my arms!" which she repeated many times and went on, "I don't remember—tell me what I have to say—oh, wretched me!—I will tell all that is wanted, Señores—they are breaking my arms—loosen me a little—I did everything that is said of me" (iii. 24).

Torture was repeated, for instance, in the case of Miguel de Castro, tried for Judaism at Valladolid in 1644. He was tortured and confessed, after which he ratified, revoked, and ratified again. He was tortured again, during which he confessed, and then revoked the confession. He would have been tortured a third time, but the physician and surgeon declared him to be unable to endure it. The Suprema ordered him to be relaxed to the secular arm if he could not be induced to return to the Church. Finally he confessed, and was sentenced to reconciliation and irremissible prison and sanbenito with 100 lashes, which was executed on January 21, 1646 (iii. 29).

With regard to the punishments little need be said. One curious punishment especially adapted to Judaizers and Moriscos was *vergüenza* or shame. The victim was not lashed, but was stripped to the waist and paraded through the streets while the town crier proclaimed his sentence. We are informed that many regarded death as a mercy, preferring to die rather than submit to *vergüenza* (iii. 138).

XXVI.

JEWS IN PORTUGAL.

The chapter on Jews in the third volume is a fascinating description of their condition in Spain after the expulsion. They differed from the Moriscos, in that the campaign against the religion of the Moors was so successful that, early in the seventeenth century, Moriscos disappear from the records of the tribunal. But for more than a century later, though expelled a hundred years before the Moors, Marranos or Jewish New Christians provided the chief

part of the work of the Inquisition. Lea points out that, in their coerced conversion, the Church took no pains to instruct them in their new religion, that they were prosecuted and persecuted upon the slenderest of proofs, that, like Islam, Judaism had tended to disappear in Spain in the reign of Philip II till the situation was entirely changed by the conquest of Portugal in 1580. The Jews in Portugal who had flocked there from Spain at the time of the expulsion met with kindly treatment by King Manoel, of whom the present king is the namesake, at his succession in 1495. His marriage with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, however, caused him to issue a general edict of expulsion, excepting children under fourteen, and practically all of these were forced to accept baptism, though for twenty years they were to be exempt from persecution. In 1499 they were forbidden to leave Portugal without royal permission. Then came the awful Lisbon massacre of 1506, which produced a revulsion of feeling, so that in the following year the restrictive laws of 1499 were repealed. The New Christians flourished exceedingly till Manoel's death in 1521, but his successor was more rigorous, and in 1531 Dr. Bras Neto, the ambassador at Rome, obtained from Clement VII briefs establishing a Portuguese Inquisition on the Spanish model. The New Christians by lavish payment of blackmail secured the friendliness of Rome, and on the whole they were not being badly treated.

OVERTURES FOR TOLERATION.

As with the Spanish Marranos, Rome recognized that the rich New Christians of Portugal would afford a rich harvest.

> This speculation in human agony was the more lucrative that Portugal was comparatively feeble and could be treated with much less ceremony than Spain.... Thus in 1534 some twenty or thirty thousand ducats were to be extorted.... In transmitting this proposal the Portuguese Ambassador added that nothing could be done in the Curia without money, for this is all they wanted.... Clement, who was rapidly approaching his end on July 26, ordered the nuncio

to overcome by excommunication all opposition to the pardon, and forbade all prosecution for past heresies, moved to this, as Santiquatro told Paul III, by his confessor, who insisted that, as he had received the money of the New Christians, he was bound to protect them. . . . The struggle was renewed under Paul III . . . the nuncio, della Rovere, entered into a contract with the new Christians, dated April 24, 1535, under which they promised to pay Paul III 30,000 ducats if he would prohibit the Inquisition, confining prosecution to the bishops, who should be limited to ordinary criminal procedure; smaller sums, moreover, were provided for less desirable concessions. The Curia honestly endeavoured to earn the money, and made several propositions to João, which he rejected; then, on November 3, a Bull was solemnly published in Rome, renewing the pardon-Brief, annulling all trials, releasing all prisoners, recalling all exiles, removing all disabilities, suspending all confiscations, prohibiting all future prosecutions for past offences, and enforcing these provisions by excommunication. . . . The New Christians declined to pay the full amount, and della Rovere was not able—at least so he said—to remit more than 5,000 ducats. This parsimony came at an unfortunate moment. The result of this was seen in a Brief of May 23, 1536, which constituted an Inquisition on the Spanish model, except that, for three years, the forms of secular law were to be observed, and, for ten years, confiscations were to pass to the heirs of the convicts. Diogo da Silva was to be inquisitor-general (iii. 240–1).

PAPAL NUNCIOS.

Capodiferro was appointed nuncio, and during his stay in Portugal received 1,800 cruzados per annum, in addition to the profit he derived from his pardon traffic. "In 1554 Julius III, in a moment of wrathful candour, told the Portuguese ambassador that nuncios were sent there to enrich themselves as a reward for previous services." The New Christians were not the only subject of quarrel between João and Pope Paul III. The Bishop of Viseu had fallen into disfavour with his royal master, and his appointment in 1542 as Cardinal so offended the King that it gave rise to "fears that Portugal was about to withdraw from the Roman obedience." This deprived the New Christians of such aid as they had purchased in

Rome, and left Henrique (the King's brother and then inquisitor-general) in peaceable possession of the inquisitorship. He established six tribunals, Lisbon, Evora, Coimbra, Lamego, Porto, and Thomar, of which only the first three remained permanent. Lippomano was appointed nuncio, but got no further than Valladolid. His secret instructions were to fight the Inquisition. "As for the Inquisition, it would be a most holy thing to abolish it and commit the jurisdiction to the bishops." A settlement was ultimately arrived at, and at the end of 1544 he was recalled, and abstained from aiding the New Christians. After much angry negotiation Ricci was appointed a new nuncio. He reported adversely to the Inquisition, and the Pope,

assuming that the brief of 1536 had established it for ten years only, notified João that the term had expired: in deference to him it was prolonged for a year, but he was told that, within that time, the question as to the New Christians must be definitely settled; it was suggested that a general pardon could be granted, or that he could banish them all from his kingdom....

The gold of the New Christians had not been spared in Lisbon or in Rome. João evidently felt that the turning-point had come and that some supreme effort must be made to outbid his subjects.... He forwarded bills of exchange for 33,000 cruzados (to Cardinal Farnese, the favourite grandson of Paul III).... Julius III was as mercenary as his predecessor. In 1551 João, in response to a hint that a present was desirable, sent him a magnificent diamond, valued by the Roman jewellers at 100,000 cruzados. . . . Julius declared that he would make it an heirloom in his family (iii. 251–2).

Next year he asked for another gift, and in 1554, after making Henrique perpetual legate, João sent him a brooch. After his death the regency in 1562 sent Pius IV a couple of rings, "to which he loftily replied that he did not desire such gifts, but he had previously had them appraised and found that they were of little value."

FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE PORTUGUESE INQUISITION.

In 1546, bribed by the See of Viseu, Paul sacrificed his protégés, but with a semblance of decency demanded that

there should be a general pardon for past offences, and the granting of a term during which those desiring to emigrate could leave Portugal. Lea remarks as to this that,

> The Holy See has been stained with many examples of nepotism and rapacity, but its history has furnished few transactions of more shameless effrontery in sacrificing those whom it was pledged to protect. A brief of safe conduct had been secretly issued inviting the Portuguese New Christians to Italy, with assurance of not being disturbed on account of their religion . . . those who had been baptized at birth came and were immediately circumcised, and filled the synagogues under the very eyes of the pope—the inference being that he desired free emigration from Portugal, in order that Italy might benefit by the intelligence and history of the apostates, an argument which was freely used and was not easy to answer. . . . (iii. 253).
>
> Thus after a contest lasting through seventeen years the Inquisition was fastened upon Portugal, and, in reviewing the kaleidoscopic vicissitudes of the struggle, we cannot trace in any act of the Holy See a higher motive than the sordid one of making out of human misery a market for the power of the keys and selling it to the highest bidder (iii. 257). . . . A long struggle ensued among the Portuguese Ambassadors (at Rome) and the New Christians, in which for some time the latter were successful (iii. 258).

Paul IV, who succeeded in 1555, and Pius IV at the end of 1559, both coquetted with the New Christians, but did not give them what they wanted, and they had to abandon all hope when the latter made his peace with the King of Portugal, and "Cardinal Henrique was re-appointed legate *a latere* in all matters concerning the faith, thus cutting off all appeal and all interference with the Holy Office" (iii. 259). When the Portuguese Inquisition becomes active, the names of witnesses being no longer published, the number of condemnations mightily increases. Lea says that no auto was celebrated in Lisbon till 1559, nor in Coimbra till 1567, though autos occurred in Evora in 1551, 1552, 1555, and 1560, after which date they became more frequent and severe, although till the conquest of Portugal by Philip II in 1580 the whole number of Jews recorded in the three tribunals was only thirty-four. Lea admits that the lists are very defective for the early years, and as a matter of

fact those given in the succeeding chapters, show how inaccurate are these details. The authorities quoted in our Lists give an auto at Lisbon in 1531, one at Evora in 1541, and no less than forty-three autos up to 1580.

XXVII.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF PORTUGAL AND IMMIGRATION OF PORTUGUESE JEWS INTO SPAIN.

When Portugal became Spanish the activity of the Inquisition immensely increased, but in the American colonies of Portugal no tribunal was ever established, although the New Christians of Brazil helped the Dutch to obtain a foothold there, as they successfully did on the Malabar coast of India, and Lea notes the fact that in the treaty of 1810 with England "Portugal bound itself never to establish the Inquisition in its American possessions" (iii. 262). While the main object of the Inquisition was to purify Portugal from Judaism, it also exercised "its blighting influence on the intellectual development as well as on the material prosperity of Portugal" (iii. 263). George Buchanan, who was Professor of Greek at Coimbra in 1547, was imprisoned as a heretic, but eventually escaped to England. When in 1578 Cardinal Henrique succeeded to the crown of his grandnephew Sebastian, he did not resign the inquisitor-generalship for fifteen months. Next month he died, "universally detested, and only regarded because in the rivalry of claimants to the throne and in the exhaustion of the land through famine and pestilence the way was open to the easy conquest by Philip II" (iii. 265). In the reorganization under the Spanish crown the Inquisition was not merged with that of Castile, but was left as an independent institution under the Archbishop of Lisbon. Curiously enough, the increased vigour of heretic baiting induced the Marranos to migrate to Spain, which would have seemed to be the last place to which they would care to go. With

this immigration, convictions for Judaism in the Spanish tribunals largely increased, so much so that Portuguese became almost synonymous with Jew.

XXVIII.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR A GENERAL PARDON.

In 1602 the New Christians commenced to negotiate with Philip III for a papal Brief granting them a general pardon for past offences. Dr. Lea tells us how Philip and his favourite Lerma were desperately in need of cash, and (despite the remonstrances of the Portuguese archbishops) all scruples were overcome by the dazzling bribe of 1,860,000 ducats to the king besides 50,000 cruzados to Lerma, 40,000 and 30,000 to two members of the Suprema, and 30,000 to its secretary. The papal brief was issued on August 23, 1604, and proved immediately effective. A great auto announced at Seville for November 7 was countermanded, 410 prisoners were released in Portugal, and the great body of Portuguese Judaizers in Spain obtained valid absolution for all past sins during the twelvemonth of its duration" (iii. 267–70). The original documents dealing with this period were published in the *Revue des Études Juives* (1904–6), and are quoted by Dr. Lea. The wealth of the Portuguese Christians must have been very great. In their memorial praying for pardon they admitted themselves to be worth 80 millions of ducats, and were assessed on the basis of 75 millions. Their wealth was even slightly greater, for another MS. of Luys de Melo's *Católicas contra Ficciones Judaicas*[1] differs from the Bodleian MS. in giving their wealth as 83 millions instead of 80. For some years there was a marked interruption of persecution.

A writer remarks in 1611 that, in Seville, the Castle of Triana was used as a penitential prison, for there was no one on trial, the

[1] In the possession of E. N. Adler.

Judaizers having all been pardoned, the Moriscos expelled, and the Protestants suppressed. This episode, however, could have no permanent influence. . . . After this we hear little of the Old Spanish Conversos; nearly all Judaizers are Portuguese and all Portuguese are presumably Judaizers (iii. 270).

Efforts were made to check the transit of such Portuguese through Spain to France and Holland, "where the refugees were of material assistance to the national enemies." In 1601 Philip III, for 200,000 ducats, allowed New Christians to go to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. In Brazil nearly all the sugar plantations were in their hands, but,

with the faithlessness customary in dealing with the proscribed race, this irrevocable permission was withdrawn in 1610. . . . Another decree of Philip III, April 20, 1619, called the attention of the inquisitor-general to the evils resulting from the multitudes of Portuguese passing with their families and property to France. . . . An eloquent memorial[1] also asked for the removal of all limitations. . . . The new Christians had greatly enriched the kingdom and the colonies by their labours (iii. 271–2).

AGITATION TO EXPEL NEW CHRISTIANS.

In 1621 a Portuguese, Vicente da Costa Mattos, published a work seeking to drive them from the land. "They were enemies of mankind, wandering like gypsies through the world and living on the sweat of others. They had possessed themselves of all trade . . . Luther commenced by Judaizing. . . . All heretics were either Jews or descendants of Judaizers, as was seen in England, Germany, and other parts where they flourished; Calvin called himself the father of Jews. . . . Their perverse obstinacy was sufficiently proved by the numbers who were every day burnt, and the still greater number who escaped by penance after conviction" (iii. 272–3). Two pardons were granted in 1627 and 1630, besides an Edict of Grace published in 1622, which, however, only relieved sixteen persons. In 1630 Sotomayor reported that the New Christians wanted

[1] This Memorial was also published in the *R. É. J.*, loc. cit.

no more edicts of grace, and Luys de Melo asserts that the Inquisition had depopulated the various cities of Portugal. The inquisitors complained that their labours were unavailing, as Judaism was steadily increasing. Philip IV was urged by the Bishop of Faro to remedy the political dangers apprehended from the New Christians.

> They were all secretly Jews ... they secretly invested their capital in dealings with the Dutch and in Dutch commercial companies. ... Israel has rarely had a more flattering tribute to its intellectual superiority than the fears excited by this remnant surviving through nearly a century of pitiless persecution (iii. 275–6).

In 1628 Philip consulted a "Junta" of Portuguese bishops, who assembled at Tomar and submitted a series of suggestions. They asked for the complete expulsion of the whole race, at least such as were full-blooded Jews. Philip assented to the exile of the reconciled and vehemently suspect. The bishops then recommended that all who desired should irrevocably expatriate themselves. The king replied that already there was unrestricted liberty to go, but their return to the Peninsula should thenceforth be prohibited. The bishops next suggested that

> to check the spread of Judaic infection by intermarriage, which was destroying the lustre of the nobility, no dower in such unions should exceed 2,000 cruzados. ... The king assented. Finally, the bishops proposed that the New Christians should be wholly excluded from trade and commerce. ... Philip answered rather curtly that it was none of their business (iii. 277).

XXIX.

INFLUX OF MARRANOS INTO WESTERN EUROPE.

In the result, the New Christians paid Philip 80,000 ducats for the privilege of leaving Portugal, under cover of which some 5,000 families emigrated to Castile. In 1632 the question of transit to France again came up. Many refugees were found in Saint-Jean de Luz when it was captured by the Spanish in 1636. Most of them, how-

ever, went to Holland, where their success was the chief cause of the effort to prevent immigration. Luys de Melo says 2,000 families had passed to Holland, and purchased the right to establish a synagogue. In 1640 Portugal recovered its independence, no doubt assisted by the New Christians. They were for a time somewhat leniently dealt with by the Inquisition, but although no Portuguese inquisitor-general had been appointed between 1653 and 1672 the supply of victims at autos seems as large as ever. Intermarriages between the New Christians and the Old had been so frequent, and "so large a portion of the population was thus contaminated, that foreigners generally regarded the Portuguese as all Jews." When, in 1622, João IV died, a New Christian named Duarte "made a liberal offer of money and troops for the defence of the land in return for a general pardon, the publication of witnesses' names, and permission to found a synagogue in which professing Jews might worship" (iii. 283). The attempt was abortive. A Jesuit, Vieira, an apostle of Brazil, intervened, urging the king to remove the distinctions between the Old and New Christians. The Inquisition, however, penanced him. He escaped to Rome, where under numerous writings he denounced the Holy Office of Portugal "as a tribunal which served only to deprive men of their fortunes, their honour, and their lives, while unable to discriminate between guilt and innocence: it was known to be holy only in name, while its works were cruelty and injustice." In a note (iii. 285) Lea upholds the authenticity of *Noticias recónditas y posthumas . . . de las Inquisiciones de España y Portugal*, Villa-franca 1722, as Vieira's work; *Villa-franca* is London, the City of Freedom. At last, in 1674, the New Christians induced Clement X to issue a brief inhibiting further action in Portugal. Coimbra treated this as a general pardon and discharged its prisoners, but the other tribunals detained theirs.

The Inquisition was sullen and celebrated no auto-de-fé between the years 1674 and 1682, save three private ones in the Lisbon audience-chamber, in each of which there was but a single penitent (iii. 289).

This struggle with Rome weakened the Portuguese Inquisition, and even after its resumption in 1681 and triumphal autos in 1682 there were thenceforth comparatively few autos and victims.

XXX.

PORTUGUESE IN SPAIN.

In Spain, however, the prejudice remained unabated. Like the Russian Count de Witte of our own day, a Spanish minister, Olivares, opened negotiations in 1634 with the Jews of Africa and Levant, and opposed the Inquisition. In 1641 he even suggested that Jews should be allowed to reside in a separate quarter in the suburbs of Madrid, with a synagogue such as that in Rome. But the Holy Office was too strong for him, and caused his downfall in 1643, after which the Suprema instructed the Valencia tribunal to forbid the landing of Jews from Oran. In some trenchant passages Lea deals with proselytism. He regards the charge that Jews proselytize as preposterous.

Judaism is a matter of race as much as of dogma; the Jews have never sought to convert Gentiles.... What conversions there were were spontaneous, and these served to intensify the horror of Judaism and to keep alive the sense of danger (iii. 293).

Thus Lope de Vera had become so deeply learned in Hebrew and Arabic that his studies led him to embrace Judaism. Other instances are given by Dr. Lea. Little colonies of Portuguese kept being discovered. The Inquisition was always on the watch, and the utmost reserve was practised by the crypto-Jews; "their children were not allowed to know anything of Judaism until of an age at which their discretion could be trusted." Jewish obser-

vances were only sporadically obeyed. "Judaism seems to have resolved itself into Sabbath keeping with occasional fasting, and into hoping to be saved in the law of Moses and in denying Christ and Christian doctrine." Outside the Portuguese immigrants,

which supplied the apparently inexhaustible harvest of culprits throughout the seventeenth century, there was one corner of Spain which escaped the influx and where the old Conversos continued to cherish their secret faith with little or no molestation (iii. 305). . . .

This was Majorca.

Here, indeed, the tables were turned, and in 1668 the inquisitors actually complained to the Suprema that the priests "talked of the Inquisition as a secret heresy, and that it was a den of robbers which should be abolished." But in 1677 a synagogue held in a garden attracted the inquisitor's attention. Wholesale arrests were made, and four autos were celebrated, and the confiscations amounted to a million and a half pesos. After this we are told that nothing more is heard of Judaism in Majorca.

XXXI.

EXCLUSION OF FOREIGN JEWS.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century and thenceforth the exclusion of foreign Jews exercised the Holy Office more than the detection of native ones. Officers of the Inquisition visited ships at all Spanish ports. Baptized Jews were seized and their goods confiscated, but the unbaptized might "depart with the ship . . .

Still the indefatigable mercantile energy of the Jews and the venality of officials to a limited extent neutralized these precautions. . . . Those of Spain would go to sea by Nice, or elsewhere, to enjoy freedom of worship, while Italian Jews came to Spain to trade in spite of inquisitorial vigilance. Licences to come were occasionally issued. . . . In 1689 orders were specially issued to disregard an agreement which Don Pedro Ronquillo under powers from the king had made with an English Jew, enabling him to land at any port in

Spain. . . . When in 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Gibraltar was ceded to England, it was under the condition that no Jews or Moors should be permitted to reside there. The inobservance of this by England was the subject of complaint, but it is not likely that many intruders risked the dangers that attended the attempt of a foreign Jew to enter Spain (iii. 312).

Our author seems unaware of the large number of Jews in Gibraltar. Already at the end of the eighteenth century they were treated by the government as forming an important, a third, section of the native population.

In 1756, Abraham Salusox, a Jew of Jerusalem, ventured to Valencia with a lion for sale. The shipmaster reported him, and a familiar was deported to accompany him, day and night, on board and on shore, never to let him out of his sight, or to communicate with any one. The Count of Almenara bought the lion, and Salusox . . . re-embarked (iii. 313).

So with the Jew from Gibraltar who came in 1759 and others in 1761, 1762, and 1795. In 1797 the Finance Minister proposed that Jews might be allowed to establish factories in Cadiz, but the Council of Ministers rejected the project as contrary to law. During the Napoleonic wars, however, enterprising Jews had entered the country, and in 1819 the tribunal of Seville represented to the Suprema its perplexities arising from the influx of Jews at Algeciras, Cadiz, and Seville, who came to the tribunal begging for baptism. They were indigent beggars and perhaps fugitive criminals. Down to 1819 no Jew could enter without a royal licence. In 1848 the anti-Jewish laws were not being enforced, and Jews could travel and trade in Spain without molestation. In 1854 Dr. Ludwig Philipson, Rabbi of Magdeburg, came to Madrid and pleaded that the Cortes should introduce into the constitution express permission for the Jews to come to the country, but it was not till the revolution which drove Isabella II from the throne "that the constitution of 1869 proclaimed freedom of belief and guaranteed it to all residents in Spain" (iii. 315). The constitution of 1876 preserved this principle,

but forbade the celebration of religious ceremonies in public other than those of catholicism. And Lea concludes his chapter on the Jews with a quotation from the beginning of the series of articles of "Auto de fé and Jew" which appeared in the *J.Q.R.*, XIII, and are here reprinted, when he states that

> It was a remarkable proof of conversion from ancient error when in 1883 the Jewish refugees from Russia sent by the organizing committees of Germany were enthusiastically received, although the experiment ended in disastrous failure (iii. 315).

XXXII.

MORISCOS AND LUTHERANS.

In the next chapter the Moriscos are discussed at even greater length than the Jews. The number of those exiled is variously given by the different authorities, and fluctuates from a maximum of three millions to a minimum of 120,000. Lea estimates that they exceeded half a million. The third chapter deals with the Protestants, but there were never many Protestants in Spain, and so they are dismissed in something less than seventy pages. The third volume concludes with a chapter on censorship. Till the Lutheran revolt, censorship was a function of the state. The Inquisition assumed control in 1521, and in 1539 the pope granted a faculty in the Commission confirming the appointment of Tavera, inquisitor-general, as successor to Cardinal Manrique. When the Lutheran scare was at its height Philip II ordered that no bookseller or other person should sell or keep any book condemned by the Inquisition, and this under penalty of death and confiscation. Authorship was discouraged by this all-embracing censorship—"an engine of immense power, constantly applied for the furtherance of obscurantism, the repression of thought, the exclusion of foreign ideas, and the obstruction of progress" (iii. 549).

The fourth volume is devoted to the remainder of the

work of the Inquisition, to its criminal as distinguished from its ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

CRIMINALS.

Crypto-Judaism was the cause of the establishment of the Inquisition, but it soon extended its jurisdiction so as to cover all offences against Spanish Catholicism, nor did it stop there. Crimes, which were also sins, were soon caught in its net. Five chapters treat of the different crimes with which the Inquisition concerned itself—mysticism, solicitation, sorcery, witchcraft, and bigamy. There are also chapters on heretical propositions such as that marriage is better than celibacy, or that the Vulgate is not infallible, or its text is inferior to the Greek and Hebrew originals. To this class of propositions belongs indulgence in freemasonry, philosophism, and blasphemy, even non-heretical blasphemy. Propositions indeed were distinguished into ten classes, according as they were heretical, erroneous, savouring of heresy, ill-sounding, rash, scandalous, schismatic, impious, insulting, and blasphemous—a wealth of epithets which reminds one of the vocabulary of Rabelais. The tenth chapter of the eighth book is especially important as it deals with political activity and the manner in which the Inquisition became a political instrument and was used to enforce secular law as in the case of restraint on the export of horses. The last chapter again deals, under the heading of miscellaneous business, with other kinds of immorality and with such ecclesiastic offences as marriages in orders, personation of priesthood and officials, the hearing of confessions by laymen, saints, transgressing the dogma of the immaculate conception, and abuse of the seal of confession. The case of usury is somewhat special. Here the Inquisition abandoned its jurisdiction, though usury was always regarded as an ecclesiastical crime; but the Suprema itself by a *carta* of 1554 forbade its tribunals to take cognizance of usury, inasmuch as usurers were not moved by erroneous belief, but by the desire for sordid gain. The non-ecclesiastical

functions of the Inquisition were practically limited to such classes of crime as belong to the category of what the Germans call *Entgegnungs-Delikte*, in which an offence is committed against a person although such person is willing. Fault has been found with the author for dealing at rather full length with this somewhat unsavoury subject, but it is an important contribution to the social history of Spain and the Church and could not have been reasonably curtailed. The pity of it is that, towards everything except heresy, the Inquisition was inclined to be lenient and yet in the whole range of these offences it is only with regard to witchcraft that such leniency can be justified.

When Dr. Lea says (iv. 509) that it was only the technical heresy and not morality that was considered, he is quite right. It is true that such offences, excepting perhaps the abuse of the Confessional, could be dealt with by the ordinary law, outside the Inquisition, but the whole point of our author's elaborate investigation is to convince the impartial reader that the Inquisition was so jealous of its jurisdiction that, even where co-ordinate powers existed, it interfered with the exercise thereof.

MYSTICISM.

Spanish mysticism is a very fascinating subject and not the least readable of Dr. Lea's pages (iv. 1 seq.) are devoted to it. Santa Teresa, San Pedro de Alcantara, and Molinos are characteristic mystics of the seventeenth century. The Molinists were viewed with disfavour by the Church which indeed changed its policy of *laisser-penser* precisely for them. It was perhaps justifiable that the Inquisition should seek to suppress the Molinists. The strange mixture of the sensual with the spiritual they displayed reminds one of the followers of Sabbatai Zevi and the Chassidim of contemporaneous Jewry[1]. It is strange to consider how

[1] Sabbatai Zevi, by the by, himself figures in the history of the Inquisition. In 1666 "the seaport tribunals were warned that some of the Portuguese would seek to join him, ... so they were to be detained ...

catching an attitude or pose may become. The religions themselves could not be more different and yet the religiousness of their votaries is of the same kind, and indeed the same applies to irreligion. The wave of atheism which spread over Europe, induced by the works of such freethinkers as Voltaire, Hume, and Rousseau could not be stopped from entering Catholic Spain. At first the orthodox Spaniard treated freethinking more tolerantly than the uncompromising Protestants used to do. Formalism has a tendency to prefer mere negation to an informality; a dissenter is deemed worse than a mere infidel. Pablo Olavide, a young lawyer of Lima, became Superintendent of a foreign colony near Seville, which roused the jealousy of the Church and the Mesta, a body of shipowners whose pasturages had been limited by such colonization. He was denounced as a follower of Voltaire and was condemned for professing the fashionable philosophy. The private auto de fé at which he was condemned took place on November 24, 1778, and was the last *cause célèbre* of the Inquisition. He was "condemned to reconciliation," confiscation of property and eight years' imprisonment in a Convent (iv. 308–311).

The crime of Bigamy deserves special mention because the Inquisition acquired jurisdiction over it in consequence of its affecting Jews and Moors. Moors and the Spanish Jews were polygamists and therefore "bigamy like abstinence from pork and wine and change of linen on Saturday, created suspicion of heresy" (iv. 316). In numerous cases the offence of bigamy is conjoined with Judaic practices.

XXXIII.

ROYAL PIETY.

Clericalism was responsible for the expulsion of the Jews and Moriscos. It was "the leading factor in controlling

and a report sent to the Suprema. Some four months later Barcelona forwarded the testimony taken in the case of four Portuguese thus detained."

the destinies of Spain, in resourcing its resources, in moulding the character of its people, and the Inquisition was its crowning work" (iv. 499). It was under the influence of clericalism that the toleration of the mediaeval period gradually gave place to the fanaticism of the Inquisition. When Dr. Lea goes on to say that there can be no question as to the sincere devoutness of Charles V one may be perhaps permitted to join issue. Deathbed regrets for not executing Luther at Worms and his testamentary charge to his son Philip II in all ways to favour the Inquisition are not in themselves proof that such piety dictated his policy during the vigour of his youth and manhood. But none will disagree with our author when he asserts that Philip II needed no such exhortation, or when he explains how Philip III, despite his piety, "had not energy enough to be an active persecutor" (iv. 500), though his will also contained the customary instructions to his successor to foster the Inquisition. It had become common form by that time. Philip IV was a willing slave to the Inquisition and, at the dictation of its Supreme Council, incurred war with England under Cromwell rather than sign a treaty forbidding the religious persecution of the English in Spain.

RECRUDESCENCE OF ACTIVITY IN 1720.

With the Bourbons, says Lea, a new era commenced in which fanaticism no longer dominates the policy of the State, and this though during the first third of the century there was a fierce recrudescence of Inquisitorial activity. It had long been a puzzle why just at this date there were so many autos de fé—at least ninety-three in ten years. But this problem, like so many others, is solved by Lea. He suggests that it was due to the discovery of a secret synagogue in Madrid. Twenty families had worshipped there since 1707 and had, in 1714, actually elected a Rabbi, about whom they consulted the Leghorn Jews. Five such Jews were relaxed and burnt in the auto of April 7, 1720, and this must have roused the other tribunals to activity.

The Jews had grown careless of concealment, thinking the political conjuncture favourable to toleration, but they were bitterly to regret their false sense of security. Moreover, a new inquisitor-general, D. de Astorga y Cespedes, held office from 1720 to 1724, and showed great zeal, as instanced by his treatment of Macanaz. Ample details are furnished in chapters XXXVII to XL as to the particulars of the numerous autos de fé which took place during those few years. Not only are the details of the autos printed by the official publishers to the Inquisition at Madrid and Seville but the same relation is reprinted and perhaps pirated by other printers at Seville, such as Francisco Sanchez Reciente who quaintly describes himself as a printer with knowledge of Latin (impressor con intelligentia latina), Juán Francisco de Blas "impressor major," and Manuel de Rios. This proves that inquisitorial activity was not only official but popular and edifying. With characteristic insight Dr. Lea explains that the religiousness so correct in form was in essence superficial, and that devotien even in church was more honoured in the breach than the observance. It needed a brief of Pope Urban VIII in 1642 to forbid the priests to smoke whilst celebrating Mass in Seville or to stain the sacred cloths with tobacco!

XXXIV.

COMMERCIAL DISADVANTAGES.

One is irresistibly reminded of Russia when one reads how the enforcement of unity of faith at every cost led the Spaniards to burn and pauperize those among their subjects who were economically most valuable, and to expel its most industrious classes and its bravest soldiers. It was this suicidal policy that led to endless wars and rebellions and left Spain financially exhausted and drove the producer in despair from the soil. It was this that made commerce pass

"into the hands of foreigners who dealt under the mask of *testas ferreas*—of Spaniards who lent their names to the real principles, for the most part the very heretics whom Spain had exhausted herself to destroy" (iv. 505). Barnuevo, the pompous cleric who edited the *Lima Auto* of 1735, actually boasts "that the determination to enforce unity of faith at all costs had rendered Spain rather a Church than a Monarchy, and her Kings Protectors of the Faith rather than Sovereigns. She was a Temple in which the altars were Cities and the oblations were men, and she despised the prosperity of the State in comparison with devotion to religion" (ibid.).

Lea goes on to remark that even an inquisitor could have a glimmer of the truth, as appears from the Memorial addressed to Philip IV by a member of the Suprema with regard to the Portuguese Jews. He gives as the authority for this memorial the *Boletín* for July to September, 1906. The memorialist seeks to prevent the exodus of Portuguese Jews which is depriving Spain of population and wealth, and proposes to win back those who have expatriated themselves by softening inquisitorial severity. A similar worldly view is expressed in the eleventh document of "Les Marranes d'Espagne et de Portugal sous Philippe IV" (Adler's MSS. in *R. É. J.*, 1904–6 frequently cited in the third volume in Book viii, chap. 1), but prejudices of the time were too strong, "the Judaizers were driven forth to aid in building up Holland" (and the author might have added England and France) "with their wealth and intelligence, and Spain in ever deepening poverty continued to cherish the ideals which she had embodied in the Inquisition" (iv. 507).

Lea does not think much of the argument that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Inquisition preserved Spain from the religious wars which decimated Northern Europe but holds that the nineteenth century bore in an aggravated form the brunt which should have fallen on the sixteenth. In the turmoil of the Revolution the Inquisition

died a natural death, but the Church filled the vacancy, and it is too early to predict what may be the outcome of the pending struggle between Church and State. The Inquisition stimulated indifference to morals, for it dissociated religion from morals and indeed aided in disseminating corruption "by its custom of reading at the autos de fé sentences *con méritos* of which the details were an effective popular education in vice" (iv. 510). Moreover, it was virtually an independent power in the State and dominated the land. Lea scouts the argument of the defenders of the Inquisition that during its existence no voice was raised against it. In his first volume he proves, from its own admissions, the hearty hatred felt for it and its officials and quotes the continuous complaints of the Cortes of the various Spanish States against it. The universal terror it inspired did perhaps induce among the Spaniards a feeling of habitual self-restraint. The yearly Edict of Faith kept its horrors constantly before the public, and "no other nation ever lived through centuries under a moral oppression so complete, so minute, and so all-pervading" (iv. 516).

XXXV.

LEA'S STATISTICS.

In dealing with the statistics as to victims, Lea keeps a middle course between Rodrigo's cool estimate of less than 400 who perished at the stake, and Llorente's "extravagant guesses" of 31,912 burnt in person and 17,659 burnt in effigy (iii. 518), figures exceeded by Amador de Los Rios, who is not usually given to exaggeration. And here with a characteristic touch Dr. Lea, who is surely not a friend of the Inquisition, protests against Gallois, the abridger of Llorente, for classifying all personal relaxations as burnings alive. In many, probably in most cases, the cruel kindness of the Inquisitors commuted burning alive to death by garrotting before burning, as though the slight diminution in the pain of death deprived death of its horror, but Lea is nothing if not accurate. He concludes

that the material at hand is as yet "insufficient to justify even a guess at the ghastly total." He impugns the motives of those whose efforts to induce conversion showed that there was no absolute thirst of blood. Persecution was profitable, and had the Holy Office been a source of expense instead of income, it would probably never have been introduced and would certainly have had but a short and inactive career. As it was, it introduced intellectual torpidity, and accounts for the remarkable eclipse of Spanish intellectual progress after the sixteenth century. Such severe repression of thought was an ample explanation of the "decadence of Spanish learning and literature, especially when coupled with the obstacles thrown around printing and publication." Spain was kept out of the current of European progress and was secluded from the investigations and speculations induced, even among Catholics, by the Reformation. Material progress also became impossible and a nation in leading strings was bound to suffer more than the rest of the world in the "transition from absolutism to modern conditions."

Perhaps our author treats Llorente a little cavalierly. He talks of his "extravagant guesses" (iv. 518), and a few pages further on of the "reckless computations of Llorente which have been so largely ccep ted" (ibid., 524). It is true that the first statement is qualified by an admission that Llorente's "figures are exceeded by Amador de los Rios, who is not usually given to exaggeration," but in a footnote Lea compares his own statistics with a view of showing how "entirely fallacious was the guesswork on which Llorente based his system."

Nine instances are given—(*a*) Toledo 1483–1501, (*b*) ibid. 1575–1610, (*c*) ibid. 1648–1794, (*d*) Saragossa 1485–1502, (*e*) Barcelona 1488–98, (*f*) Valencia 1485–1592, (*g*) Valladolid 1485–92, (*h*) Majorca 1488–1691, (*i*) "all tribunals" 1721–27.

Now the Toledo records are, says Lea in iii. 551, "manifestly imperfect." Those of Saragossa are only from

a seventeenth or eighteenth century MS., and they do not comprise e.g. an auto celebrated there on Oct. 24, 1487. Of Barcelona, Lea says that its records were notoriously in "complete disorder" already in 1544 (ii. 258). The Valladolid statistics given by Lea are merely those of *two* autos de fé. The Valencia records are incomplete (iii. 562). When Joseph Jacobs visited Alcala in 1888 thirteen packets treating of 280 trials at Valencia had not been calendared[1]. They were presumably removed to Madrid in 1897, but are only briefly referred to in the appendix to Catálogo i of the Archivo Histórico Nacional (p. 687). The *Relación de Autos-de-fé* there quoted may supplement the details of Legajo 98. The Majorca "records" are difficult to reconcile with the 722 cases of "reconciliation" (iii. 524), or Lea's total number of 139 relaxed in person with the 43 relaxed in 1691 alone, according to Garan's account in *La Fe Triunfante,* or the statement of "Judaism Extinguished," with the survival to this very day of *Chuetas.* And when he states (iii. 307) that "we hear nothing more of Judaism in Majorca; during the height of persecution elsewhere the tribunal celebrated two autos, May 31, 1722, and July 2, 1724. . . ," he omits the autos there of Sept. 15, 1721, and Dec. 17, 1730. But the last instance, "all tribunals 1721–7," is the most striking case to show how unreliable even Lea's statistics may be. He compiles them from a volume at Berlin containing "relacions" of sixty-four autos de fé between 1721 and 1727. Now this volume omits at least twenty-one autos held between these dates, particulars of which are given in the *J.Q.R.* (XIII, 413–7), and three others detailed in XIV (713)[2]. So far from Llorente exaggerating the figures for those dates there were actually 2,681 penanced or relaxed at ninety-three autos during the régimes of the thirty-five and thirty-six inquisitors, i.e. between 1720 and 1730, instead of Llorente's estimate of two killed outright, one relaxed in effigy, and

[1] *Sources of Spanish Jewish History,* p. xii.

[2] Vide infra, pp. 117–121, and p. 127.

twelve "penitenciados" yearly at each tribunal, i.e. 15 × 10 × 16 = 2,400 (*J.Q.R.*, XV, 433).

Another detail which is perhaps worthy of correction is the too sweeping statement that public general autos were abandoned in 1660. Not to mention those in Portugal, there were "general" autos at Granada on May 30, 1672, at Mallorca on Jan. 13, 1675, and a "public" auto at Llerena on Nov. 30, 1722, all of which are so described in the title-pages to their respective Relacions.

ETHICAL VALUES IN HISTORY.

But these are minor defects, if defects at all. For the rest, the four volumes constitute an almost impregnable phalanx of sound scholarship and philosophic insight, based not upon the vague generalities of previous historians or the wild denunciations of eloquent pamphleteers, but upon untiring examination of original documents and records. Lea has been true throughout to the standpoint he adopts in his *Ethical Values in History*[1]—the remarkable presidential address he delivered four years ago to the American Historical Association. In that paper he breaks a lance with a critic of his own, the late Lord Acton. He denounces the exhortation of the Cambridge lecture to "try others by the final maxim that governs your own lives, and to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong." He denies that we have the right to presuppose a fixed and unalterable standard of morality. That might "add piquancy to a narrative . . . by heightening lights and deepening shadows," but is a fallacy. Morals may not be purely conventional, but "there is scarce a sin in the Decalogue which has not been or may not now be regarded as a virtue, or at least as an allowable practice, at some place or time among a portion of mankind." We may condemn a superstition, though our conscience acquits the perpetrator of personal guilt. To the Hebrew priest, to a St. Louis of France, to a Chief Justice Hale, to a John

[1] New Era Printing Co., Lancaster, Pa., 1903.

Knox or a Philip II, or even to a Luther, "the preservation of his religion was the one essential thing, and no penalty was too severe for aught that threatened its supremacy. . . . The Massachusetts Law of 1658, under which Quakers were put to death on Boston Common, suffices to show that this conception of public duty was not confined to one race or faith. . . . Voltaire has sufficiently shown the use that may be made of trying one age by the standards of another in his mocking sketch of David, the man after God's own heart." The historian must live in the period he is describing and view life from its standpoint.

Thus alone can he give us an accurate picture of the past. . . . This is the true philosophy of history. . . . To inject modern ethical theories into the judgment of men and things of bygone times is to introduce subjectivity into what should be purely objective. . . . The historian who becomes an advocate or a prosecutor instead of a judge forfeits his title to confidence, and, if he aspires to be a judge, he should not try a case by a code unknown to the defendant. . . . He may often feel righteous indignation, but he should strenuously repress it as a luxury to be left to his reader. . . . The *affaire Dreyfus* and the massacre of Kischeneff show how the fires of the persecuting spirit are still occasionally re-kindled in their ashes. . . . To depict a man like Philip as a monster of iniquity, delighting in human misery, may gratify prejudice . . . but it teaches no lessons. To represent him truthfully as the inevitable product of a distorted ethical conception is to trace effects to causes and to point out the way to improvement.

It is in this spirit that Lea has depicted the history of the Spanish Inquisition, and the lesson he deduces from its melancholy record is that so long as any religion claims a monopoly of salvation it must produce stagnation and make progress impossible. "Competition in good works is the most beneficent sphere of human activity."

XXXVI.

LEA'S KINDRED WORKS AND CONDEMNATION OF THE INQUISITION.

The Retrospect which concludes the History best enables the reader to ascertain Dr. Lea's view of the subject to which

he has devoted a lifetime, and which he has made peculiarly his own. Happily it is not the last of the author's great works on the subject. His promised volume on "The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies" has just appeared [1]. Indeed, if one goes through a list of Dr. Lea's works, one is reminded of the story of Moses, who, angered and disheartened by the recusancy of his people, flung the tablets containing the Ten Commandments from him so that they fell, and as they broke on the ground, says the Midrash, each fragment was a precious stone and the world was enriched by numberless gems. The Inquisition of the Middle Ages is the central monument round which Lea's other works naturally group themselves. "Studies in Church History," "The Moriscos of Spain, their Conversion and Expulsion," "Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition," "Studies in Church History," "Superstition and Force," "The Papal Penitentiary," "Sacerdotal Celibacy," "Auricular Confession," "The Ecclesiastical Treatment of Usury," "An Anti-Masonic Mystification," "Lucero the Inquisitor," "A Sketch of the History of Mortmain," "Molinos and the Italian Mystics," and "Ethical Values in History," the lecture to which special attention has been drawn. All these are subjects on which Dr. Lea has naturally become the chief authority. Anything more unlike the savage denunciations of Llorente, the secretary of the Inquisition and keeper of its records, can hardly be imagined than the calm philosophic deliberations of the cultured publisher in Philadelphia, who, far away from the wrangles of theologians and the excitement of European politics, has reconstituted the story of the most human, because most inhuman, instrument of wrong that theological politician or political theologian ever invented.

It is his deliberate judgment, after following the career of the Spanish Inquisition from its foundation to its suppression, after examining its methods and its acts and

[1] New York, Macmillan Co., 1908.

appraising its influence and share in the misfortunes of Spain, that its work was almost wholly evil. But Lea finds an excuse for Isabella and the Hapsburg Princes for their share in the originating and maintaining the Inquisition in the fact that, for centuries, the Church has encouraged the universal belief that "heresy was treason to God, its extermination the highest service to God and the highest duty to man." In one respect Lea thinks the Inquisition operated humanely and rationally in its dealings with witchcraft, but the great lesson he derives from his study is that "the attempt of man to control the conscience of his fellows reacts upon himself. He may inflict misery but in due time the misery recoils on him or on his descendants and the full penalty is exacted with interest ..... The sins of the fathers have been visited on the children and the end is not yet" (iv. 533). Our author has also learned another profound philosophic truth in the melancholy story of religious Spain—a truth which is perhaps a paradox. "Unity of faith, once the ideal of statesmen and churchmen alike, is fatal to progress." Deplorable as were the hatred and strife developed by the rivalry which followed the Reformation, it raised the moral standards of both sides, broke down the stubbornness of Conservatism and rendered development possible.

The whole work, with its 2,423 pages, is completed by a most valuable, full, and careful index, which converts it into the best book of reference on the subject. Many inaccessible documents which constituted the author's *pièces justificatives* and interesting statistics and lists are relegated to the appendix in each volume, and confirm what Acton pointed out twenty years ago, that Lea chooses authorities which are not only rare but singularly appropriate and convincing.

XXXVII.

TABLE OF AUTOS DE FÉ CELEBRATED IN SPAIN.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
Jan. 11, 1257	Barcelona	Anales de la Inquisicion	...	...	Sentence pronounced against the memory of Count Raimundo de Fortcalquiery de Urgel as a "hereje relapso."
Nov. 2, 1269	Barcelona	Anales de la Inquisicion	...	...	Sentence against a Viscount and his daughter.
1301	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
1304	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
1356	Valencia	De Castro			
1356	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
1357	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
1360	Valencia	De Castro			
1391	Seville	Graetz	...	...	Martinez incited the mob to burn the Juderia and force the Jews to abjure their faith. Over 4,000 families became Marranos, and their example was followed in 70 communities, including Cordova, Toledo, and Burgos.
1478	...	...	...	...	Pope Sixtus IV issued a Bull empowering the Reyes Católicos to appoint Inquisitors on all heretics.
Jan. 6, 1481	Seville	Graetz, Eng. Edition, iv. 340	...	...	This Graetz calls the first "auto de fé" celebrated with a "solemn procession repeated for the following 300 years in Seville."
1482	...	...	...	...	Sixtus IV revoked his Bull but revoked the revocation next month.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
1483	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Feb. 28, 1484	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1484	Toledo	Jacobs	...	...	"Relacion de algunos Reconciliados por la Inq."
Aug. 8, 1484	Ciudad Real	Boletin xxii Rodrigo 189	...	...	42 Jews are burnt at this and the next autos. Among the victims are Four Belmontes, Fernando, Inez, Gonzales and his wife.
Mar. 16, 1485	Ciudad Real	Do. Rodrigo			
May, 1485[1]	Ciudad Real	Rodrigo			
Feb. 12, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo	740	740	All stated to be absolved and in liberty.
May 10, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo			
June 16, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo	25		
Aug. 16, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo			
Aug. 17, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo	2		
Dec. 10, 1486	Toledo	Rodrigo	900	900	"Reconciliados."
Jan. 15, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	700	700	
Mar. 15, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	1000	1000	
May 7, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	23	22	
May 9, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	8	...	8 burnt in effigy.
July 25, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	37	...	17 of these were women.
July 26, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo	6	...	6 "herejes obstinados."
July 27, 1487	Toledo	Rodrigo			
May 24, 1488	Toledo	Rodrigo	...	421	21 Jews burnt alive, 400 others were punished.
1488	Valladolid	Rel. Adler			
July 30, 1488	Toledo	Rodrigo	...	...	16 Jews burnt alive.
Feb. 3, 1489	Toledo	Rodrigo	1	...	At this and the next auto 105 victims were punished.
Feb. 22, 1489	Toledo	Rodrigo			
Mar. 30, 1489	Toledo	Rodrigo			
1491	Avila	Rodrigo			
1498–9	Toledo	Jacobs			
1499	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Feb. 22, 1501	Toledo	Rodrigo De Castro			
? 1500–1	Toledo	Jacobs			

[1] Between 1485 and 1487 3,340 apostates are stated to have been publicly "reconciled," and many more in secret, and 250 were "relaxed" and handed over to the secular arm (? killed).

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "ros" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
Nov. 1506	Barcelona	Rodrigo			
1507	Las Palmas	Rodrigo	2	1	
1507	Logrono	Rodrigo			
1510	Las Palmas	Rodrigo	4	3	
1514	Toledo	Jacobs			
Feb. 24, 1526	Las Palmas	Rodrigo	15	5	A Jewish Surgeon "que hacia de Gabino" and 2 others burnt, 5 Mahometans, 1 Lutheran, and 2 blasphemers, one of whom was a "falsificador de documentos referentes al Santo Oficio."
1527	Logrono	Rodrigo			
1528	Granada	Rodrigo			
1529	Avila	Rodrigo			
1530	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
Mar. 6, 1531	Avila	Rodrigo			
Mar. 6, 1531	Cuenca	Rel. Adler			
May 23, 1534	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1534	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
April 26, 1536	Seville	Rodrigo			
1536	Cordova	Col. Cord. Cappa			
1536	Zaragoza	Rel. Adler			
1537	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1541	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	"Se ignoran sus circunstancias."
May 3, 1546	Cordova	Rel. Adler			
1549	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1550	Seville	Rodrigo			
1552	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1554	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1556	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A "Luterana" amongst the victims.
June 7, 1557	Murcia	Rodrigo			
Sept. 24, 1557	Seville	Rodrigo			
1557	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1557	Valladolid	Rodrigo and Montan			
1558	Valladolid	Rel. B.M. (Bologna)			
1558	Seville	Montan	...	...	Nicholas Burton burnt.
May 21, 1559	Valladolid	Rodrigo	...	...	2 Jews burnt, 3 Lutherans, "y algunos otros apostatos" garrotted.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
Sept. 24, 1559	Seville	Geddes, Mix. Tracts, 1702 p. 466 (1714, vol. i), Rodrigo	...	...	21 Lutherans 40 other "criminals."
Oct. 8, 1559	Valladolid	Rodrigo			
? 1559	Valladolid	Jud. Sev.			
June, 1560	Seville	Rodrigo			
Dec. 22, 1560	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	6 men and 9 women burnt, 1 Jew died suddenly.
1560	Murcia	Rodrigo			
1560	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Mar. 15, 1562	Murcia	Rodrigo	...	...	One of the victims was a "Rabbino de una sinagoga."
Mar. 20, 1562	Murcia	Rodrigo	32	16	16 Jews, 11 Lutherans, and 5 Mahometans.
April 26, 1562	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	21 Lutherans among the victims.
1563	Seville	Montan			
May 20, 1563	Murcia	Rodrigo			
July 25, 1563	Seville	Jud. Sev.	46	...	6 victims burnt at the stake.
Dec. 9, 1563	Murcia	Rodrigo			
April, 1564	Seville	Jud. Sev.	41	...	6 burnt.
1564	Murcia	Rodrigo			
1565	Seville	Rodrigo			
Feb. 9, 1566	Murcia	Rodrigo			
Sept. 8, 1566	Seville	Jud. Sev.	56	...	6 burnt, of whom 5 were Lutherans and 1 a Dominican Friar.
Sept., 1566	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
June 7, 1567	Murcia	Rodrigo			
May 8, 1569	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Oct. 4, 1569	Valladolid	Rodrigo			
Nov. 6, 1569	Las Palmas	Rodrigo	...	...	19 Calvinists punished at an auto necessitated, as Rodrigo says, by the fact that 12 years without "autos de fé" had stimulated many new Christians "para incurrir en sus prácticas Mahometanos ó Judíos."
Nov. 6, 1570	Seville	Jud. Sev.			

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
Jan. 24, 1573	Seville	Jud. Sev.	70		
Nov. 25, 1573	Seville	Jud. Sev.	60	...	2 victims burnt.
Dec. 14, 1574	Seville	Jud. Sev.	60	...	2 victims burnt.
1575	Murcia	Rodrigo			
Jan. 8, 1575	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Jan. 8, 1576	Seville	Jud. Sev.	52	...	2 burnt.
June 24, 1576	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1576	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Baez punished as judaizante.
Feb. 10, 1577	Seville	Jud. Sev.	72	...	2 burnt.
1577	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Richard Bayley, in the service of the English Ambassador, punished for "Anglicanismo."
Feb. 9, 1578	Seville	Jud. Sev.	70		
1578	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	D'Agustín Montero Espinosa, punished for Judaizing.
May 3, 1579	Seville	Jud. Sev.	51	...	1, a "Flamenco" (native of Flanders), was burnt alive.
July 17, 1580	Seville	Jud. Sev.	61	...	1 burnt alive.
Mar. 12, 1581	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1581	Zaragoza	Rodrigo			
May, 1583	Seville	Jud. Sev.	87	...	7 burnt.
1583	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Sherwin of Axminster (Auxmesta) a victim.
April 13, 1586	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
July 22, 1587	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
June, 1589	Seville	Jud. Sev.	95	...	5 victims burnt alive.
May 1, 1591	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
May 9, 1591	Zaragoza	Rel. Adler			
June 14, 1592	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Aug. 18, 1592	Zaragoza	Rel. Adler			
1592	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	A Scotch soldier, Alexander Hay, punished for Calvinism.
1593	Granada	Rodrigo			
1593	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1593	Logrono	Rodrigo			
1593	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	This was a "particular" auto, at which a man was punished for giving false witness in the matter of some crime of Judaism.
1594-7	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
1596	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1596	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Clas Pentecoste condemned for Anglicanismo.
1598	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Baltasar de Matos, a Judaizante.
1599	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	An Englishman, Cooque Ricardo (Richard Cook), condemned for Calvinism.
1608	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
Nov. 7 and 8, 1610	Logrono	Rel. Adler Rel. Paris (Madrid Collado 1820)	18	6	Of the 12 non-Jews 1 prisoner was a Lutheran and 1 a Mahometan. 2 were punished for perjury.
? 1610	Logrono	Rodrigo			
Nov. 8, 1611	Logrono	Rodrigo			
1613	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Ritel Butt, of London, victim.
1613–6	Toledo	Jacobs			
1614	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
June 2, 1615	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1620	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Everart (Duarte), of Bristol, punished for Anglicanismo.
1620	Toledo	Archivo			
June 21, 1621	Madrid	Rodrigo			
Feb. 28, 1623	Seville	Jud. Sev. ex SevilleAuto, Nov. 27, 1625	...	...	Amongst those punished was a Moorish mulatto "for professing the law of Moses."
Nov. 30, 1624	Seville	Rodrigo Sev. Jud.	...	...	At this auto there were Jews, vide infra.
Dec. 2, 1625	Cordova	Col. Cord. Rel. Bodl. De Castro			
Dec. 14, 1625	Seville	Rodrigo Jud. Sev.	73	67	Manuel Lopez and 3 Jewesses "relaxed" and burnt alive.
1625	Toledo	Jacobs			
Dec. 21, 1627	Cordova	Col. Cord. Rel. Paris	76	71	
July 22, 1628	Seville	Jud. Sev.	4	1 or 2	"Un renegado, un judio, un blasfemo y una vieja casada dos veces."
April 27, 1630	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Baez punished for "judaizante."

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
1630	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1630–2	Toledo	Jacobs			
1631	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
July 4, 1632	Madrid	Rel. Bodl. Kayserling Ein Feiertag 9			
1635	Logrono	Jacobs			
June 22, 1636	Valladolid	Rodrigo Llorente	...	...	28 Jews, of whom 10 were "relaxed."
1640	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1641	Logrono	Jacobs			
1641	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	A Jew "Baez" punished.
1642	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	An English boy, John Els, 14 years old, punished.
Oct. 18, 1643	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
1643	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Gervase Sutton, of Bristol, punished.
Aug. 2, 1644	Valladolid	GraetzX, note 6, De Castro, 227, 238	...	...	"Judas the believer" burnt alive. Spinoza refers to this auto, and is by some writers thought to have been an eye-witness, vide infra.
Aug. 9, 1644	Valladolid	De Castro 227, 238	...	...	Don Lope de Vera burnt alive.
Feb. 24, 1647	Cordova	Col. Cord.	17	12	
Mar. 29, 1648	Seville	Jud. Sev. and Rel. B. M.	44	29	1 Jew burnt alive, 20 burnt in effigy, 8 received other punishments. 4 Mahometans, 4 witches, 7 bigamies, and other crimes.
May 29, 1648	Seville	Rodrigo			
Jan. 1651	Toledo	Archivo	76	63	
1654	Avila	Rodrigo			
June 29, 1654	Cuenca	Graetz	...	...	57 Christian proselytes to Judaism punished, 10 of whom were burnt.
? 1654	Granada	Rodrigo			
Nov. 1654	Granada	Graetz	...	...	12 Marranos burnt to death.
Mar. 1655	Compostella	Graetz	...	...	Marcos da Almeyda Bernal died at the stake.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
May 3, 1655	Cordova	Col. Cord. Rel. B. M. Graetz	88	78	
1655	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
1655	Toledo	Jacobs			
1656	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Feb. 9, 1660	Cordova	Col. Cord.	14	13	
April 11 & 13, 1660	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	80	7 Jews burnt alive, and Antonio Henriquez Gomez and Dr. de Orobio and 30 other Jews[1] burnt in effigy. This was a very grand auto, vide infra.
1660	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Manuel Lopes Pimentel of Bayonne burnt for Judaizing.
April 13, 1660	Seville	Rel. Columbina			
1662	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	A priest, Fr. Pedro de la Concepcion alias Maldonado, "condenado por observante de la ley de Moisés atheista y blasfemo."
Feb. 24, 1662	Cordova	Col. Cord.	40	38	
May 6, 1663	Cordova	Col. Cord.	26	19	
May 30, 1665	Toledo	ex Granada, Rel. Adler			
June 29, 1665	Cordova	Col.Cord.and Rel. Adler	101	96	
1666	Toledo	Archivo	...	...	Among the victims is Ana Gomez Espinosa, a "Costurera Portugueza" (a seamstress).
June 7, 1666	Cordova	Col. Cord.	24	23	
July 7, 1669	Granada	ex auto June 25, 1724			

[1] Abrahams in his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 363, thus describes this incident:—"Antonio Enriquez Gomez . . . this gallant soldier . . . composed some twenty-two comedies. . . . Persecuted by the Inquisition, he fled to France, where he enjoyed the friendship of Richelieu . . . Finally he found a resting-place in the then home of freedom, Amsterdam, where he heard with grim satisfaction that he had been burnt in effigy at an auto de fé in Seville. This was in 1660. The poet died in the same year."

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
1669	Cordova	Col. Cord.	15	13	One of the prisoners was punished as an "encubridor," or harbourer of Jews.
July 20, 1670	Cordova	Col. Cord.	23	21	
1672	Granada	Rel. Bodl. Rel. B.M.			
Dec. 21, 1679	Cordova	Col. Cord.	17		
June 30, 1680	Madrid	Olmo. Rel.			
Oct. 28, 1680	Madrid	Olmo. Rel.			
Mar. 25, 1681	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Aug. 24, 1681	Madrid	ex Granada auto, Jan. 31, 1723			
Nov. 30, 1682	Murcia	ex Granada auto, Jan. 31, 1723			
Sept. 29, 1684	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1684	Granada	ex Cordova auto, April 12, 1722	...	...	Among the Jews punished was Antonio de Miranda.
Feb. 21, 1685	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Dec. 21, 1685	Cordova	ex Nov. 30, 1725			
Mar. 22, 1686	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	At this auto only one prisoner—a witch—seems to have been punished.
Feb. 13, 1689	Granada	ex June 25, 1724			
July 10, 1689	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A particular auto for abuse of the Confessional, vide infra.
? 1689	Granada	ex Seville auto, Nov. 30, 1722	...	...	Among the Jews were Carrion and Ana de Bargas y Olivares.
Mar. 3, 1691	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	José Luis, Canon of San Salvador, punished, and his two books "prohibidos."
Mar. 11, 1691	Seville	Jud. Sev.	26		
June 30, 1691	Madrid	De Castro, 231			
1691	Toledo	ex Col. Cord. ex April 12, 1722			

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
1691	Majorca	De Castro, 230	...	...	3 Jews burnt and 34 strangled.
May 18,1692	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	Auto at which figured Miguel del Aguila, painter and wizard.
1692	Granada	ex April 23, 1724			
May 12, 1693	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1693	Madrid	ex April 12, 1722			
1693	Madrid	ex June 13, 1723			
1693	Logrono	ex June 13, 1723			
Dec. 21, 1694	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1694	Madrid	ex Col. Cord.			
Mar. 13, 1695	Seville	ex Jan. 31, 1723			
Dec. 18, 1695	Seville	Jud. Sev.	8	...	6 women and 2 men.
June 12, 1696	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Sept. 29, 1696	Granada	ex Jan. 31, 1723			
Oct. 14, 1696	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	Auto "of which particulars are lacking."
1697	Granada	ex Jan. 31, 1723			
May 25, 1698	Cordova	Col. Cord. ex June 31, 1723			
Dec. 21, 1698	Seville	ex Granada auto Jan. 31, 1723			
May 24, 1699	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Nov. 29, 1699	Valladolid	ex Rel. K.K. July 4, 1745	...	...	Miguel Gutierrez was one of the Jews punished for "delitos de Judaismo."
Feb. 14, 1700	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
1700	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	Leonora de Alvarez, a Jewess, punished.
Mar. 19, 1701	Valladolid	ex Rel. K.K. Valladolid auto, June 13, 1745			
Oct. 23, 1701	Valladolid	ex Seville auto Nov. 30, 1725			

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
Dec. 4, 1701	Murcia	ex K.K. auto Jan. 31, 1723			
1701	Cordova	ex Col. Cord.			
1701	Cuenca	ex Col. Cord.			
Mar. 5, 1702	Seville	ex auto Jan. 31, 1723			
June 4, 1702	Cuenca	ex auto July 23, 1724			
Oct. 8, 1702	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
Oct. 28, 1703	Seville	Jud. Sev. De Castro, 235	...	...	The Jew D. Lopez Duro burnt, though he seems to have survived the ordeal. Among the other Judaizers punished was José Diaz Pimiento, vide infra.
1703	Granada	ex auto Cord. June 13, 1723			
Dec. 31, 1706	Valladolid	ex Rel. K.K. auto Val. June 13, 1745	...	...	Among the Jews punished for "delitos de Judaismo" was Garcia.
1708	Mallorca	ex auto July 2, 1724			
1709	Granada	ex auto Cord. June 13, 1723			
1716	Valladolid	ex auto Dec. 19, 1724			
Nov. 14, 1717	Granada	ex auto Jan. 31, 1723			
Dec. 15, 1717	Granada	ex auto Jan. 31, 1723			
April 4, 1718	Cordova	Col. Cord. and ex auto April 12, 1722	13	5	Of the non-Jews 6 were punished as Lutherans and 2 as bigamists.
June 29, 1718	Seville	Jud. Sev. and ex auto Dec. 14, 1721	...	...	Manuel de Espinosa a victim. He is referred to in the archives at Madrid.
? 1718	Seville	ex auto Sev. Nov. 20, 1722			
Feb. 12, 1719	Granada	ex auto June 15, 1724			
Aug. 6, 1719	Seville	Rodrigo			
Dec. 10, 1719	Seville	Rodrigo			
? 1720	Granada	Bodl. rel.			
1720	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
July 25, 1720	Granada	ex auto June 23, 1724			
Dec. 1720	Cuenca	ex auto July 23, 1724			
April 20, 1721	Cordova	Col. Cord.			
May 18, 1721	Madrid	Rel. B.M. Bodl. K.K. and Palamares	...	...	Among the Judaizantes punished was Maria Josepha, alias Elena, alias Margarita Henoch, a native of Breslau.
Nov. 3, 1721	Cuenca	Rel. B. M.			
Nov. 23, 1721	Seville	Rel. Bodl. and B. M.			
Nov. 30, 1721	Granada	Rel. B. M. Bodl. K. K. and Palamares.	60	58	These are all called "Hereges Judaizantes."
Dec. 14, 1721	Seville	Jud. Sev. Rel. B. M. K. K., Bodl. and Pal.	42	38	Among the Jews are Manuel de Espinosa, de la Pena, Andrade, and Leon.
Feb. 22, 1722	Madrid	Rel. K. K. Bodl. B. M. and Pal.	11	10	
Feb. 24, 1722	Seville	Jud. Sev. Rel. K. K. Bodl. B. M. and Pal.	13	11	
March 8, 1722	Valladolid	Rel. B. M. and Bodl.			
Mar. 15, 1722	Toledo	Rel. B. M. Bodl. and Pal.	32	32	
April 12, 1722	Cordova	Col. Cord. Rel. B. M. and Pal. Bodl. K. K. Cappa	14	14	
May 17, 1722	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	38	36	
May 30, 1722	Granada	Rel. B.M.			
May 31, 1722	Mallorca	Rel. Pal. and B. M.	5	0	
?June 19, 1722	Cuenca	Rel. Pal.	18	18	
June 29, 1722	Cuenca	Rel. B. M. K. K.			

Date.	Place.	Source.	No. of "vros" punisht.	No. of Jews punisht.	Remarks.
July 5, 1722	Seville	Rel. Pal. and B. M. K. K. and Jud. Sev.	48	43	
Aug. 24, 1722	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. and B. M.			
Oct. 11, 1722	Zaragoza	Rel. B.M.			
Oct. 18, 1722	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Oct. 25, 1722	Toledo	Rel. B. M.			
Sept. 21, 1722	Santiago	Rel. Pal.			
Nov. 22, 1722	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Nov. 30, 1722	Seville	Jud. Sev. and Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	47	42	4 Jews burnt and 38 "reconciled," 1 Calvinist, 1 bigamist, and 3 punished "por testigo falso en causa de matrimonio."
Nov. 30, 1722	Llerena	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	19	17	
Jan. 31, 1723	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	60	54	Among the Judaizers was Joseph de la Santissima Trinidad, a native of Tetuan.
Jan. 31, 1723	Barcelona	Kayserling	4	4	
Jan. 31, 1723	Seville	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	60	54	12 Jews burnt alive, Marcos de Espinosa and 41 others "reconciled," 6 bigamies.
Feb. 21, 1723	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Feb. 24, 1723	Valencia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Feb. 24, 1723	Toledo	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
May 13, 1723	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
June 6, 1723	Seville	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K. Jud. Sev.	34	31	2 Jews were burnt alive. Among the prisoners was the Nuevo-Cristiano, N. Nuñes, Alcalde Mayor of Zamora.
June 6, 1723	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
June 6, 1723	Zaragoza	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	23	21	
June 13, 1723	Cordova	Pal. B. M. Col. Cord.	26	23	5 Jews and 1 non-Jew burnt, 2 burnt in effigy, 1 "restituido a la carcel," 15 Jews "reconciled," 3 other crimes.
June 20, 1723	Granada	ex Col. Cord. Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	28	25	
July 26, 1723	Llerena	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.			
Aug. 10, 1723	Seville	Rel. Pal. and B. M.			
Oct. 24, 1723	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	...	25	Among the "reos" Luis Phelipe de Espinosa (aged 55) of Almeria.
Oct. 28, 1723	Toledo	Rel. Pal. and K. K.			
Dec. 19, 1723	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	2	0	
Feb. 20, 1724	Madrid	Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	21	20	6 Jews burnt in effigy, 3 Jews and a "Gitana" burnt alive.
Mar. 12, 1724	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	6	5	4 Jews burnt alive, remaining prisoner a bigamist.
April 2, 1724	Valencia	Rel. Pal. B. M. and K. K.	10	5	
April 23, 1724	Cordova	Rel. Pal. Col. Cord.	28	26	4 Jews burnt alive and 4 in effigy; 2 other crimes. The exhumed body of Maria Josefa Fernandez burnt.
June 11, 1724	Seville	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	35	33	1 Jew burnt alive, 2 bigamies.
June 25, 1724	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	40	39	5 Jews burnt alive and 16 in effigy, 1 bigamy.
July 2, 1724	Cordova	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K. Col. Cord.	6	6	
July 2, 1724	Mallorca	Rel. Pal. and B. M.	3	0	
July 23, 1724	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M.	8	8	

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
Nov. 9, 1724	Santiago	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	17	0	
Nov. 30, 1724	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	10	8	2 Jews burnt alive and one in effigy.
Dec. 21, 1724	Seville	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	8	8	
Jan. 14, 1725	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	9	9	2 Jews burnt alive and 6 in effigy.
Feb. 4, 1725	Llerena	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	5	4	
Mar. 1, 1725	Toledo	Rel. B. M. K. K.			
Mar. 4, 1725	Cuenca	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	1	1	
Mar. 5, 1725	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	2	0	
May 13, 1725	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	22	20	7 Jews burnt in effigy.
July 1, 1725	Toledo	Rel. Pal. and K. K.	8	5	1 Jew burnt alive.
July 1, 1725	Valencia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	18	2	
July 8, 1725	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	8	5	N.B. Of the 3 not noted as Jews 2 were punished for false witness.
Aug. 24, 1725	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	10	9	
Aug. 26, 1725	Llerena	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	10	10	One of these Jews was a native of Bordeaux.
Sept. 9, 1725	Barcelona	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	8	2	
Oct. 21, 1725	Murcia	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.	11	6	
Nov. 30, 1725	Seville	Rel. Pal. K. K.	14	10	3 Jews burnt alive, 3 "penitenciados por sospechos de judaismo."
Dec. 16, 1725	Granada	Rel. Pal. K. K.	12	10	1 Jew burnt alive, 2 false witnesses; among 3 who abjured was one De Castro, a native of Naples, "por sospechas de Herege Judayzante o Mahometano."
Mar. 31, 1726	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. K. K.	2	2	

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
Mar. 31, 1726	Murcia	Rel. Pal. K. K.	6	6	
May 12, 1726	Cordova	Rel. Pal. and K. K. Col. Cord.	10	9	Two Jews were reconciled in effigy!
Aug. 18, 1726	Granada	Rel. Pal. K. K.	7	7	
Sept. 1, 1726	Barcelona	Rel. Pal. K. K.	3	1	1 Jew, Andrade of Lisbon, burnt alive, and an English Protestant, Benjamin Cogni of Derquester (!), burnt in effigy.
Sept. 17, 1726	Valencia	Rel. Pal. K. K.	11	...	All the "reos" are called "hereges."? Jews.
Jan. 26, 1727	Valladolid	Rel. Pal. K. K.	17	17	All were reconciled, including Carballo Cardoso, "fugitivo a Francia."
May 18, 1727	Granada	Rel. Pal.			
El dia glorio-sissimo San Fernando, Rey de España	Valladolid	Rel. Pal.			
May 9, 1728	Granada	Rel. Pal. B. M.	51	1*	Only one is called a Judaizer. Of the rest 45 were "reconciliados por hereges Mahometanos." Among their very Jewish names we find Diaz Mendoza, Lara, Ximenes, Perez de Gurniel, Alvarez, and Aguilar.
May 9, 1728	Seville	Rel. Pal.			
May 15, 1728	Cordova	Rel. Pal. Col. Cord.			
Oct. 10, 1728	Granada	Rel. Pal.	34	5*	Only 5 Judaizers, 29 called "Mahometanos," including Delgado, Enriques de Lara, and Rodriguez.
May 8, 1729	Granada	Rel. Pal.			
1729	Logrono	Rodrigo			

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
May 3, 1730	Cordova	Rel. Pal. Col. Cord.	15	14	
May 7, 1730	Santiago	Rel. Pal.			
May 14, 1730	Llerena	Rel. Pal.			
Dec. 17, 1730	Mallorca	Rel. Pal.			
Mar. 4, 1731	Granada	Rel. Pal.			
Mar. 4, 1731	Cordova	Rel. Pal. Col. Cord.	8	6	
Mar. 21, 1738	Toledo	Rel. K. K. (printed at Toledo)	...	12	Lucia Gonzales, a Jewess, aged 70, was burnt alive.
July 12, 1739	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A secret auto at which a lay brother was condemned to the galleys for 6 years for having celebrated mass.
1741					
1743	Valladolid	Rel. B. M.			
June 13, 1745	Valladolid	Rel. K. K.	3	3	Luis de la Vega, a Jew, was burnt alive. The other two punished for "delitos de judaismo" were Gutierrez Garcia and Joseph Pereyra Cavalo.
July 4, 1745	Granada	Rel. K. K.	10	...	6 of the 10 were Mahometans.
Dec. 5, 1745	Cordova	Col. Cord.	9	2	
July 13, 1749	Cordova	Col. Cord.	...	1	A single victim, a heretic.
Nov. 22, 1753	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A secret auto of which D. José Grande was the hero.
Dec. 13, 1753	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	Gregorio Jordan Caballero punished.
1756	Madrid	Rel. Bodl.			
1757	Seville	Rodrigo			
Dec. 1758	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	D. Juan Placer punished.
Aug. 24, 1781	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A public auto at which a blind woman was the victim.
? 1781	Seville	Mocatta	...	...	A Jew burnt alive.
1799	Cordova	Col. Cord.	...	1	A single prisoner, a witch.
Aug. 11, 1799	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	The hero of this auto was D. Domingo Fernandez Pinillos.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*No. of "reos" punished.*	*No. of Jews punished.*	*Remarks.*
Aug. 26, 1799	Seville	Jud. Sev. De Castro	...	...	Lorenzo Beltran, a Judaizer.
June 20, 1805	Seville	Jud. Sev.	...	...	A man punished "for denying various dogmas of the faith."
June 20, 1805	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Feb. 22, 1813	...	Rodrigo, iii. 492	...	...	The Spanish Inquisition was suppressed by the Cortes.
July 21, 1814	...	Rodrigo, iii. 492	...	...	The Inquisition was reinstated by Ferdinand VII.
Feb. 27, 1817	Seville	Jud. Sev. De Castro	...	...	Auto of D. Lorenzo Aillon for having improperly raised the Host.
Feb. 27, 1817	Seville	Jud. Sev.			
Mar. 9, 1820	...	Rodrigo	...	...	The Revolution (1820-3) again abolished the Inquisition.
1820	Las Palmas	Rodrigo			
Oct. 1, 1823	...	Rodrigo	...	...	The "Contrarevolucion" re-established the Holy office, and a period of reactionary rule ensued lasting till Ferdinand's death in 1833.
Aug. 1, 1826	Valencia	"Paris" of Aug. 2, 1882, Chambers' Encyclopaedia, *sub voce* Inquisition, *Revue É. J.*, V, 155	...	...	1 Judaizer burnt alive, 1 Lutheran schoolmaster garrotted. A "témoin oculaire" describes how the "malheureux Israélite" was burnt and his cries drowned by the hymns of the bystanders.
July 15, 1834	...	Rodrigo, iii. 499	...	...	The Queen Regent Maria Cristina, mother of Isabella II, finally abolishes the Inquisition.

XXXVIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE OF AUTOS DE FÉ CELEBRATED IN SPAIN[1].

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
July 8, 1459	? Barcelona	Gottheil	1 victim burnt.
1480	Seville	Jud. Sev.	7 burnt.
Mar. 26, 1481	Seville	Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*	
April 21, 1481			
Nov. 4, 1481			
1485–1503 over seventy autos	Saragossa	Kayserling	Between these dates Kayserling asserts there were 3, 4 or more autos celebrated each year in Saragossa, the capital of Arragon.
Oct. 13, 1486	? Monçon	Gottheil	
Mar. 17, 1487	? Barcelona	"	
Oct. 24, 1487	? Saragossa	"	
Nov. 14, 1487	Lerida	"	
Feb. 18, 1488	Monçon	"	
July 8, 1488		"	
July 10, 1489	Huesca	"	
Feb. 11, 1490	"	"	
April 22, 1491	Saragossa	"	
July 8, 1491		"	
Feb. 8, 1495	"	Kayserling, Gottheil	
Feb. 28, 1505	Barcelona	Kayserling	
Aug. 17, 1505	Saragossa	"	
Mar. 5, 1506	"	"	
May 24, 1506	"	"	
1506	Las Palmas	"	
1509	"	Gottheil	
1510	"	"	
1511	"	"	
June 16, 1511	Saragossa	Kayserling	

[1] This list is mainly compiled from additional information supplied by Dr. Kayserling of Buda-Pesth and Professor Richard Gottheil of New York in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1901, XIV, 136–140 and 80–87. Their articles are here cited as "Kayserling" and "Gottheil" respectively.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
Mar. 18, 1523	Saragossa	Kayserling	
July 23, 1524	,,	,,	
Feb. 28, 1528	,,	,,	
Feb. 28, 1539	,,	,,	
May 27, 1559	Valladolid	Gottheil	
Sept. 13, 1560	Madrid	Calendar of State Papers, Venice	29 Jews killed[1].
Nov. 25, 1567	Seville	Gottheil	
Oct. 29, 1571	,,	,,	2 burnt, 55 reconciled.
Dec. 18, 1571	,,	,,	4 burnt.
Oct. 30, 1596	,,	,,	James Bolen (Bullen or Boleyn) of Scotland burnt.
April 19, 1600	,,	,,	
July 2, 1604	,,	,,	
Nov. 6, 1604	,,	,,	
Feb. 7, 1610	Logroño	,,	
1618	Toledo	Jacobs	Vide *R. É. J.*, XXX, 94, Schwab.
Oct. 15, 1619	Toledo	Gottheil	Manuel de Almeyda, a victim.
June 28, 1624	Seville	,,	50 prisoners.
1625	Madrid	Kayserling	
Feb. 28, 1627	Seville	A "relacion" (Oe 174) in the Bibliothèque Nationale.	

[1] Tiepolo, Ambassador with King Philip, writes to the Doge concerning this Auto as follows:—"A fortnight ago last Sunday an act was performed at Murcia which is called at Toledo an Act of Inquisition, whereat 29 individuals were burnt as Jews and amongst them some chief personages (uomeni principali), so that the confiscating their property will yield the king upwards of 400,000 ducats. I have already informed your Serenity that a Jew whilst a prisoner in that city corrupted a great part of the population, and how the plot was discovered, so punishment of the culprits has not yet ended. The 29 persons who were burnt lately were all impenitent, but if they had recanted and demanded mercy even at the last their lives would have been spared, though with loss of their property and freedom, by virtue of a privilege to this effect which is enjoyed by the kingdoms of Murcia, Granada, Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, but which is not conceded to those of Castile, where, unless recantation be made within a certain period, the individual who omits to make it is necessarily put to death." *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian).

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
Dec. 21, 1627	Seville	Gottheil	
Jan. 22, 1628	Cordova	„	
April 27, 1630	Toledo	„	
June 29, 1634	Cuenca	Schwab	57 Jewish victims.
April 17, 1644	Seville	Gotthiel	Dr. Vaez da Silba a victim.
1649	Valladolid	Menasseh ben Israel "Mikveh Israel"	Don Lope de Piera burnt.
Dec. 12, 1654	Granada	Schwab	12 Jewish victims.
March, 1655	Compostella Galicia	Elogios que zelos os dedicaron a la felice memoria de Abraham Nuñez Bernal, p. 125	Ishack de Almeida Bernal martyred "sobrino del otro Martir." My copy contains a MS. "soneto" of 14 lines, dedicated to this young Isaac Bernal.
Oct. 18, 1655	Compostella Galicia	Kayserling	
1657	Cordova	Steinschneider, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 176	Abraham, father of Joseph Athias, the printer of צאינה וראינה burnt.
Nov. 30, 1661	Toledo	Gottheil	8 victims.
June 8, 1663	Seville	„	24 "reos."
April 4, 1664	„	„	22 "reos."
July 6 and 9, 1666	Cordova	„	23 victims.
1669	Toledo	„	
Jan. 13, 1675	Mallorca	Gottheil	
April 6, 23, and 30, 1679	„	„	50, 52, and 62 victims, respectively.
May 3 and 28, 1679	„	„	46 and 13 victims.
1683	Seville	Kohut in *Am. Jew. Hist. Procs.* IV, 108	Manoel Delgado reconciled.
Mar. 7, 1691	„	Gottheil	3 burned, 34 strangled.
May 1 and 6, 1691	„	„	25 victims at each.
June 2, 1691	„	„	
Nov. 30, 1693	„	„	
July 25, 1720	Seville	Jud. Sev.	At this auto perished José Diaz Pimienta, the adventurer. Vide ante VII.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
Sept. 15, 1721	Mallorca	Gottheil	
May 31, 1722	„	„	
May 9, 1723	Cuenca	Kayserling	
Dec. 16, 1725	Seville	Gottheil	
Aug. 18, 1726	Llerena	„	Juan Rodriguez of Bayonne condemned.
June 30, 1776	Seville	Seville	Louis Castellanos, a physician, the victim.
Nov. 7, 1781	Seville	Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*	A witch burnt.

XXXIX.

Some Toledo Autos.

(Mostly compiled from the Madrid Archives.)

Date.	*No. of Victims.*	*No. of Jews.*	*Remarks.*
June 17, 1565[1]	41	...	22 Lutherans, of whom 11 were burnt alive. A "renegado" punished may have been a Jew.
June 18, 1570[2]	7	7	
Feb. 9, 1648	2		
Dec. 28, 1649	4	3	
Jan. 1, 1651	76	...	Mostly Jews, 2 burnt, 1 Jew and Juan Lays of Paris.
Nov. 30, 1651	23	...	Many Jews.
April 28, 1652	4	4	
Aug. 24, 1652	4	4	
Nov. 3, 1652	4	2	
Dec. 28, 1652	8	...	Jews.
May 11, 1653	4	...	Jews.
May 18, 1653	5	...	Jews.
Aug. 10, 1653	7	...	Jews.
Aug. 31, 1653	3	3	
Mar. 15, 1654	7	7	Jews.
Nov 8, 1654	9		
Dec. 27, 1654	7	...	Jews.
Oct. 31, 1655	7	7	Jews.
Jan. 30, 1656	1	1	
Sept. 10, 1656	8	8	Jews.
Sept. 17, 1656	2	2	
Oct. 8, 1656	2	2	
Oct. 15, 1656	2	2	
Feb. 11, 1657	3	3	
Mar. 11, 1657	3	3	
May 6, 1657	3	3	
July 1, 1657	9	8	1 bigamy.
Sept. 16, 1657	6	6	
Dec. 9, 1657	17	17	
Aug. 24, 1658	8	7	1 bigamy.
May 9, 1659	7	...	Jews.
Sept. 7, 1659	12	...	Jews.
Jan. 11, 1660	5	...	Jews.
Mar. 19, 1660	6	...	Jews.

[1] MS. Relacion Adler. [2] Ibid.

Date.	*No. of Victims.*	*No. of Jews.*	*Remarks.*
June 13, 1660	2	2	Jews.
Sept. 26, 1660	10	...	Jews.
April 4, 1661	8	...	Jews and Lutherans.
Aug. 8, 1661	16	...	Jews.
Dec. 4, 1661	6	6	
April 11, 1662	15	...	Jews.
Feb. 24, 1663	11	...	Jews.
Oct. 7, 1663	10	...	Jews.
Feb. 22, 1665	23	...	Jews.
June 15, 1666	14	...	Jews.
May 1, 1667	3	3	1 burnt in effigy.
Oct. 30, 1667	18	...	Jews.
April 7, 1669	7	...	Jews.
Nov. 17, 1669	16	...	Jews.
May 18, 1670	5	...	Jews.
Oct. 19, 1670	7	...	Jews.
Sept. 6, 1671	11	...	Jews.
Sept. 11, 1672	6	...	Jews.
Feb. 11, 1674	14	...	Mostly Jews.
Oct. 14, 1674	2	1	
Feb. 3, 1675	2	...	A Moor and a bigamist.
June 16, 1675	3		
Sept. 20, 1676	3		
Feb. 14, 1679	4	4	
Dec. 17, 1679	5	5	
Oct. 6, 1680	5	5	
Dec. 21, 1680	30	...	Many Jews.
Sept. 29, 1681	9	...	Jews.
April 25, 1683	8	...	Jews.
May 22, 1684	3	2	1 bigamist.
April 1, 1685	2	1	
Aug. 18, 1686	3	3	
Oct. 15, 1686	1	1	
Mar. 9, 1687	1		
April 13, 1687	1	1	
July 15, 1687	1		
April 22, 1689	1		
April 6, 1690	3		
Nov. 9, 1692	2	1	
Feb. 7, 1694	10	...	Jews.
June 6, 1694	3	3	
June 13, 1694	1		
May 8, 1695	3	3	2 Jews burnt in effigy.
Sept. 22, 1695	2	1	
Oct. 23, 1695	2	2	
July 29, 1696	1	1	
Sept. 16, 1696	2	2	
Mar. 17, 1697	4	...	Jews.

Date.	*No. of Victims.*	*No. of Jews.*	*Remarks.*
July 7, 1698	1		
Sept. 7, 1699	5		
Jan. 31, 1700	2		
Sept. 26, 1700	7	...	Jews.
Mar. 6, 1701	7	...	Jews.
Oct. 30, 1701	10	...	Jews.
May 21, 1702	3	3	
Oct. 18, 1702	2		
Oct. 22, 1702	1		
Nov. 12, 1702	2	2	
Mar. 18, 1703	2	2	
Dec. 16, 1703	1		
Sept. 8, 1704	3	2	1 Jew burnt.
no date	1	...	Apparently the following day.
no date	1	...	Apparently the day after, "a sollicitante" punished in secret.
no date	1		
Nov. 22, 1705	1	1	
no date	1	...	? the next day, a priest punished in secret.
June 19, 1707	1		
Sept. 8, 1707	1		
Nov. 24, 1707	1	...	Sollicitante.
July 15, 1708	2		
July 23, 1708	1		
April 9, 1709	1		
Mar. 10, 1709	1		
Oct. 19, 1709	1		
Aug. 26, 1710	1		
Sept. 1, 1711	1		
Sept. 27, 1711	6	1	
Nov. 15, 1711	1		
June 13, 1713	1		
June 23, 1713	1		
Oct. 1, 1714	2		
Oct. 22, 1714	1		
Feb. 15, 1716	1		
Aug. 29, 1717	4		
July 24, 1718	3		
Feb. 2, 1721	1		
Mar. 19, 1721	16	...	Jews.
Mar. 15, 1722	32	...	Many Jews, a Jewess, Maria de Ribera, burnt.
Oct. 25, 1722	13	12	
Feb. 24, 1723	7	7	2 Jews burnt and 2 in effigy.
Oct. 28, 1723	6	6	Diego Lopez de Castro Paz "Judaizante impenitente" burnt.
Jan. 15, 1725	1	...	Bigamist.

Date.	*No. of Victims.*	*No. of Jews.*	*Remarks.*
July 1, 1725	8	5	1 Jew burnt.
June 11, 1726	3	2	
June 28, 1729	1		
July 12, 1730	1		
Sept. 26, 1730	1		
Dec. 22, 1730	1		
June 3, 1731	1		
July 28, 1731	1		
Sept. 7, 1733 (sic)	1		
Jan. 18, 1732	1		
July 24, 1732	1		
Aug. 14, 1732	1		
Aug. 18, 1732	1		
Aug. 22, 1734	2		
Dec. 4, 1734	1		
April 26, 1735	1		
Mar. 20, 1738	12	...	Many Jews, Luzia Gonzales burnt.
Dec. 21, 1738	2	1	
Nov. 5, 1742	1		
May 25, 1743	1		
July 7, 1744	1		
Sept. 18, 1722 (sic)	1		
Sept. 16, 1745	1		
Sept. 19, 1745	1		
Feb. 10, 1746	1		
July 8, 1746	1		
June 11, 1748	1		
April 16, 1749	1		
no date	1		
June 6, 1750	1		
July 1, 1750	1		
Jan. 13, 1751	1	...	Most of these were in the sala of the tribunal "a puerta serrata," and dealt with priests and their crimes, abuse of the confessional, &c.
July 9, 1751	1		
July 30, 1752	1		
Aug. 7, 1752	1		
Mar. 9, 1755	1		
April 26, 1755	1		
Jan. 11, 1756	2	1	
Feb. 23, 1757	1		
April 9, 1757	1		
Mar. 24, 1757	1		

Date.	*No. of Victims.*	*No. of Jews.*	*Remarks.*
Sept. 25, 1758	1		
Oct. 14, 1758	1		
Oct. 21, 1758	1		
June 20, 1759	1		
Oct. 13, 1759	1		
Nov. 10, 1763	1		
Feb. 4, 1764	1		
July 8, 1765	1		
Sept. 5, 1765	1		
Oct. 13, 1759 (sic)	1		
Sept. 25, 1767	1		
Sept. 21, 1768	1		
May 31, 1769	1		
April 16, 1771	1		
Mar. 6, 1775	1		
Oct. 3, 1775	1		
July 8, 1776	1		
April 7, 1777	1		
April 8, 1777	1		
Jan. 28, 1778	1		
Mar. 7, 1778	1		
Nov. 22, 1779	1		
July 7, 1787 (sic)	1	...	Interposed in the Original.
Feb. 16, 1780	1		
Jan. 27, 1787	1		
Feb. 28, 1791	1		
Sept. 9, 1791	1		
Aug. 4, 1792	1		
Aug. 11, 1794	1		

XL.

Further Autos celebrated in Spain.

Dr. Lea's monumental work on the *History of the Inquisition of Spain* has enabled the lists of autos de fé which have appeared in these papers to be largely supplemented. The following table gives details of additional autos de fé mainly from Lea's four volumes.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
Feb. 6, 1481	Seville	Lea I	6 burnt.
Feb. 6, 1481	,,	,,	3 burnt.
Nov. 16, 1483	Ciudad Real	,,	During these 2 years, 52 heretics were burnt here, and 220 absentees condemned.
Feb. 6, 1484	,,	,,	4 burnt.
Feb. 23 and 24, 1484	,,	,,	30 burnt alive and the effigies of 40.
Feb. 28, 1484	Seville	,,	The treasurer of the Cathedral burnt.
May 10, 1484	Saragossa	,,	4 Jews penanced.
June 3, 1484	,,	,,	3 Jews burnt.
Dec. 20, 1485	,,	,,	2 Jews burnt, 1 for reading the Bible in Hebrew.
Dec. 28, 1485	,,		
Feb. 13, 1486	,,	,,	1 Jew's goods confiscated.
Feb. 24, 1486	,,	,,	3 Jews burnt and 3 in effigy.
Mar. 17 (July) 1486	,,	,,	3 Jews burnt.
April 2, 1486	Toledo	,,	900 penitents.
April 28, 1486	Saragossa	,,	4 Jews burnt and 2 in effigy.
May 21, 1486	,,	,,	7 victims, including 3 Jews, penitenced.
June 11, 1486	Toledo	,,	250 penitents.
June 25, 1486	Saragossa	,,	5 Jews penitenced.
June 30, 1486	,,	,,	3 Jewish victims, for inciting to assassinate an inquisitor.
July 28, 1486	,,	,,	3 Jews burnt and 3 in effigy.
Aug. 6, 1486	,,	,,	5 Jews penitenced.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
Sept. 24, 1486	Saragossa	Lea I	10 Jewish victims.
Oct. 21, 1486	„	„	6 Jews burnt and 1 in effigy.
Nov. 29, 1480	„	„	11 Jewish victims.
Dec. 10 and 11, 1486	Toledo	Lea III and I	900 penitents who suffered greatly from the cold.
Dec. 15, 1486	Saragossa	Lea I	1 Jew burnt.
Dec. 17, 1486	„	„	9 Jewish victims, 1 with a bridle in his mouth.
Jan. 21, 1487	„	„	5 Jews.
Feb. 15, 1487	„	„	3 Jews and 3 other culprits.
Mar. 10, 1487	Toledo	„	1,200 penitents.
April 1, 1487	Saragossa	„	A bogus inquisitor punished.
May 6, 1487	„	„	6 culprits.
May 20, 1487	„	„	11 victims, including 9 Jews.
Aug. 18, 1487	„	„	8 Jews, of whom 3 burnt and 5 in effigy.
Aug. 20, 1487	„	„	4 Jews, 3 burnt and 1 in effigy.
Dec. 8, 1487	„	„	9 culprits, all Jews.
Jan. 25, 1488	Barcelona	„	4 burnt and 12 fugitives in effigy.
Feb. 10, 1488	Saragossa	„	10 victims, including 4 Jews.
Feb. 15, 1488	„	„	1 Jew.
Mar. 2, 1488	„	„	16 culprits, 5 Jews.
Mar. 21, 1488	„	„	11 penanced.
May 4, 1488	„	„	3 penanced.
May 23, 1488	Barcelona	„	
Aug. 8, 1488	„	„	Pedro Badorch sentenced to perpetual prison.
Aug. 10, 1488	Saragossa	„	5 penanced.
Aug. 13, 1488	Balearic Isles	„	
Aug. 17, 1488	Saragossa	„	1 penanced.
Aug. 18, 1488	Balearic Isles	„	
Feb. 9, 1489	Valladolid	„	
May 10, 1489	Saragossa	Lea IV	A notary penanced for saying he cared more for 10 florins than for God.
June 19, 1489	„	Lea I	
seven autos in 1489	Balearic Isles	„	
Mar. 24, 1490	Barcelona	„	
Mar. 26, 1490	„	„	

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
May 2, 1490	Saragossa	Lea I	29 penanced.
May 9, 1490	,,	,,	27 penanced.
Nov. 28, 1490	,,	,,	17 penanced.
April 22, 1491	,,	,,	8 penanced and 1 burnt.
May 15, 1491	,,	,,	24 penanced.
June 10, 1491	Barcelona	,,	
July 10, 1491	Balearic Isles	,,	
July 30, 1491	,,	,,	
Mar. 28, 1492	Saragossa		
Sept. 8, 1492	,,		21 penanced.
Sept. 11, 1492	,,	Lea III	
Sept. 28, 1492	,,	Lea I	13 burnt.
Nov. 11, 1492	,,	,,	12 penanced.
May 11, 1493	Balearic Isles	,,	3 relaxations in person and 47 in effigy.
June 2, 1493	Saragossa	,,	9 penanced and 13 burnt.
Dec. 22, 1493	,,	,,	17 penanced.
May 7, 1494	,,	,,	6 penanced.
Jan. 9, 1495	,,	,,	6 burnt.
Jan. 18, 1495	,,	,,	7 penanced.
June 30, 1495	,,	,,	6 burnt.
July 2, 1495	,,	,,	14 penanced.
Oct. 7, 1496	,,	,,	22 penanced.
June 14, 1497	Balearic Isles	,,	Bones of 1 burnt and the effigies of 59.
June 27, 1497	Saragossa	,,	10 penanced.
Mar. 12, 1498	,,	,,	7 penanced.
May 5, 1498	,,	,,	3 burnt.
Feb. 22, 1499	,,	,,	11 burnt.
Aug. 4 (Feb.) 1499	,,	,,	7 penanced.
Sept. 13, 1499	,,	,,	4 burnt.
Sept. 15, 1499	,,	,,	4 penanced.
Jan. 18, 1500	,,	,,	6 penanced.
1501	Toledo	Lea II	
May 31, 1501	Saragossa	Lea I	17 penanced.
Mar. 15, 1502	,,	,,	11 burnt.
Feb. 3, 1503	Barcelona	Lea III	
Mar. 25, 1504	,,	Lea I	
1506	Seville	Lea IV	
1507	Biscay	,,	
1507	Cordova	Lea I	107 victims burnt who had listened to the sermon of the Apostate Judaizer Bachiller Membreque. Witnessed by Ferdinand with "great pleasure."
Sept. 1509	Valladolid	,,	

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
June 28, 1509	Majorca	Lea III	
1511	Cuenca	„	Leonor and Juana Rodrigues reconciled.
1512	Saragossa	Lea IV	
1522	„	„	
1528	Valencia	Lea III	Charles V was present at this auto and saw 13 victims burnt alive and 10 in effigy.
Mar. 13, 1537	Saragossa	Lea IV	Mossen Juan Omella burnt.
1539	Valencia	Lea III	
Sept. 21, 1550	Toledo	„	
Aug. 13, 1551	„	„	
Aug. 21, 1552	Seville	C. A. Wilkens, *Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1897, p. 29	The reference is to Rachel Challice's abridged English translation of *Die Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus im 16ten Jahrhundert*, by Wilkens, Gütersloh, 1888. Juan Gil and other Lutherans were penanced at this auto.
May 21, 1558	Vallalolid	Brit. Museum "Verzeichnisse etlichen Christen . . verdampt"	
May 20 and 21, 1559	„	B.M. Egerton, 1887, and Wilkens, p. 171	Don Carlos present.
June 21, 1599	„	Relatione, &c. in B.M.	
Oct. 8, 1599	„	Lea III and Wilkens, ib.	A royal auto.
Feb. 24 and 25, 1560	Toledo	Lea III and Wilkens, p. 189	A royal auto. The King, Queen, and Don Carlos present. Several relaxations to celebrate Philip II's marriage to Isabelle de Valois.
Mar. 9, 1561	„	Lea IV	
Oct. 28, 1562	Seville	„	19 cases of fornication.
Feb. 1564	Barcelona	Lea III	A spectacular auto with 8 relaxations. Philip II present.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
May 13, 1565	Seville	Lea III	75 penitents.
July 17, 1566	Toledo	Wilkens, p. 189	Mostly Lutherans.
Sept. 26, 1568	Valladolid	Ibid., p. 184	
June 4, 1571	Toledo	Ibid., p. 189	Lutherans.
Sept. 4, 1575	"	Lea III and IV	Student penanced for personating a priest.
Oct. 30, 1576	Santiago	B.M. Eg. 1506	
June 14, 1579	Llerena	Lea III and IV	15 "Alumbrados" penanced.
Dec. 18, 1580	Toledo	Wilkens, 189	"The final deathblow to Spanish Protestantism."
1585	Cuenca	Lea III	5 fornicators penanced.
1585	Toledo	"	Manuel Thomas relaxed for Judaism.
June 6, 1585	Saragossa	"	4 burnt. One of the other culprits had personated an official of the Inquisition.
1591	Toledo	Lea II and III	24 Judaizers.
Oct. 20, 1592	Saragossa	Lea IV and B.M. Eg. 1508	80 culprits, of whom 6 relaxed.
May 27, 1593	Granada	Lea III	3 "negativos" burnt alive.
Dec. 1, 1593	Saragossa	Lea IV and B. M. Eg. 1508	
June 19, 1594	Toledo	"	
1595	"	Lea III	
1596	Barcelona	Lea I	
Jan. 1598	Valencia	Lea IV	
Mar. 6, 1600	Toledo	Lea III	Philip III present, and thus celebrated his accession, 46 victims, but only 1 Huguenot burnt.
Dec. 1602	Valencia	Lea IV	
1606	Toledo	Lea III	A Morisco burnt alive, for teaching Moorish ceremonies.
Jan. 7, 1607	Valencia	"	
1609	Valladolid	Lea IV	70 penitents, and "the people murmured because the one condemned to relaxation ... escaped the stake."
Feb. 7, 1610	Toledo	Lea III	
May 10, 1615	"	Lea I and III	Philip III present, and increased a Lutheran's punishment.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
1622	Valladolid	Lea IV	Franciscan penanced for celebrating mass.
June 21, 1624	Madrid	B.M.Eg. 1887	
Dec. 20, 1627	Cordova	,, and Lea IV	3 sorceresses penanced.
April 28, 1630	Toledo	B.M.Eg. 1887	
Feb. 23, 1644	Tarragona	Lea I	A Calvinist burnt and 2 penitents.
July 25, 1644	Valladolid	Lea III	
Nov. 7, 1647	Tarragona	Lea I	1 burnt and 11 penitents.
Nov. 7, 1647	Barcelona	Lea III and IV	2 relaxations in person and 2 in effigy.
Mar. (?), 1655	Santiago	Lea III	
Dec. 8, 1681	Toledo	,,	A culprit 10 years old reconciled.
Mar. 29, 1691	Valladolid	,,	
May 6, 1691	,,	,,	
July 2, &c., 1691	Majorca	,,	38 Jews relaxed in person and 7 in effigy.
May 18, 1692	Seville	B.M.Eg. 1887 and Lea IV	"La pabeza" penanced.
July 28, 1715	Barcelona	Lea I	
Dec. 10, 1719	Seville	Lea III	A Moorish slave converted at the last moment.
Feb. 24, 1723	Valencia	,,	
June 6, 1723	Cordova	Lea IV	
Mar. 12, 1724	Valencia	Lea III	
April 2, 1724	Barcelona	Lea IV	
June 25, 1725	Valencia	Lea III	
July 1, 1725	,,	,,	18 penitents, of whom 15 were sorcerers.
Sept. 17, 1725	,,	,,	
June 25, 1752	Llerena	,,	
Aug. 26, 1753	Valencia	,,	
June 30, 1776	Seville	Lea IV	Dr. Castellanos, a free-thinker, punished.
1759–1788	Toledo	Lea III	Llorente says that between these dates there were only 10 autos de fé celebrated here.
Nov. 24, 1778	Seville	Lea IV	Pablo Olavide reconciled.
1802	Cuenca	Lea III	Isabel Herraiz burnt in effigy.
July 26, 1826	Valencia	Lea IV	

XLI.

TABLE OF AUTOS CELEBRATED IN PORTUGAL AND ITS COLONIES.

(MOSTLY FROM MSS. A 4, 34–37 (INVENTARIO 166–169) IN THE BIBLIOTHECA NACIONAL DE LISBOA[1].)

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Date.*	*Place.*	*Source.*
1531	Lisbon	Zunz.	1571	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1536	Goa	,,	1572	Evora	,,
Sep. 20,	Lisbon	Gottheil.	1573	Coimbra	,,
1540			1574	,,	,,
Oct. 23,	,,	,,	1574(3)	Evora	,,
1541			1574	Lisboa	,,
1541	Evora	,,	1575	Evora	,,
1542	,,	MSS. Lisb.	1576	,,	,,
Sep. 23,	,,	,,	1576	Lisboa	,,
1543			1576	Coimbra	,,
1543	Thomar	,,	1578	,,	,,
1543	Porto	Gottheil.	1581	Evora	,,
1544	Thomar	MSS. Lisb.	1582	Lisboa	,,
1548(2)	Evora	,,	1583(2)	Coimbra	,,
1551	,,	,,	1584	,,	,,
1552	,,	,,	1584	Lisboa	,,
1553	,,	,,	1584	Evora	,,
1555	,,	,,	1586	,,	,,
1560	,,	,,	1586	Lisboa	,,
1561	,,	,,	1586	Coimbra	,,
1563	,,	,,	1587	Lisboa	,,
1563	Lisboa	,,	1587	Evora	,,
1564	Evora	,,	1588	,,	,,
1567	,,	,,	Nov. 7,	Lisboa	,,
1567	Lisboa	,,	1588		
Oct. 5,	Coimbra		1588(2)	Coimbra	,,
1567		,,	1589	,,	,,
1568	,,	,,	1589	Evora	,,
1569(2)	,,	,,	1590	Lisboa	,,
1569	Evora	,,	1591	,,	,,
1570	,,	,,	1591	Evora	,,
1570	Coimbra	,,	1591	Coimbra	,,

[1] These particulars were extracted by the kindness of the Librarian, Sr Dn Alberto Carlos da Silva, and their source is here cited as "MSS. Lisb."

Date.	Place.	Source.	Date.	Place.	Source.
1592	Evora	MSS. Lisb.	1618	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1593	Coimbra	,,	1619	Lisboa	,,
1594	Lisboa	,,	1619	Evora	,,
1594	Evora	,,	1619(2)	Coimbra	Silva.
1595	Coimbra	,,	1620	,,	,,
1596	Evora	,,	1620	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1597	,,	,,	1620	Evora	,,
1597	Lisboa	,,	1621	,,	Silva.
1598	Evora	,,	1621(3)	Lisboa	1. Silva.
1598	Coimbra	,,	1621(4)	Coimbra	1. Silva.
1599(3)	,,	,,	1621	Goa	Silva.
1599	Lisboa	,,	1623	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1599	Evora	,,	1623	Evora	,,
1600	,,	,,	1624	Evora	Silva.
1600	Lisboa	,,	1624	Lisboa	,,
1601	Coimbra	,,	1625(2)	Coimbra	1. Silva.
1602(2)	,,	,,	1625	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1602	Lisbon	Menasseh b. Israel[1].	1626	,,	Silva.
1602	Evora	MSS. Lisb.	Nov. 29, 1626	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1603	Lisboa	,,	1627	,,	Silva.
Aug. 3, 1604	,,	,,	1627	Lisboa	,,
1605(2)	,,	,,	1627	Evora	,,
1605	Evora	,,	1627	Goa	,,
1606	,,	,,	1628	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1606	Lisboa	,,	1629	,,	Silva.
1607	Coimbra	,,	1629	Coimbra	,,
1608	,,	,,	Sep. 2, 1629	Lisboa	,,
Aug. 3, 1608	Evora	,,	1630	Evora	,,
1609(2)	Lisboa	,,	1630(2)	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1610	Evora	,,	1631	,,	,,
1610	Coimbra	,,	1631	Lisboa	,,
1611	Lisboa	,,	1632	,,	,,
1612	Evora	Silva.	1632	Evora	,,
1612	Coimbra	,,	1632	Coimbra	,,
1612	Goa	,,	1633	Evora	,,
1614	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.	1633	Lisboa	,,
June 21 and July 12, 1615(2)	Evora	Silva.	1634	,,	,,
1616	,,	,,	1634	Coimbra	,,
1616	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.	1635	Lisboa	,,
1617	Lisboa	,,	1635	Evora	,,
1617	Goa	,,	1635	Goa	Silva.
1618(2)	Coimbra	Silva.	1636	Goa	MSS. Lisb.
			1636	Coimbra	,,
			Sep. 20, 1636	Evora	Silva.

[1] Quoted in Zedner's *Auswahl Historischer Stücke*, p. 144. At this auto Pater Diego de Assunca was burnt for refusing to inform against judaizing Marranos.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*
1636	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1637	,,	Silva.
1637	Evora	,,
1637(2)	Coimbra	1. Silva.
		1–2. MSS. Lisb.
1638	,,	MSS. Lisb.
1638	Lisboa	Silva.
1638	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1639	,,	,,
1640(2)	,,	,,
1640	Lisboa	Silva.
1640	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1641	,,	,,
1641	Evora	,,
1642	,,	,,
April 2, 1642	Lisboa	Silva.
1643	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1643	Coimbra	,,
1644	Goa	Silva.
1644	Evora	,,
1644(3)	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1645(2)	,,	1. Silva.
		1–2. MSS. Lisb.
1646	,,	MSS. Lisb.
1646	Evora	,,
1647	,,	,,
1647	Coimbra	,,
1647(2)	Lisboa	,,
1649	,,	,,
1649	Evora	Silva.
1650(2)	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1650(4)	Lisboa	,,
1651	Evora	,,
1652(2)	Lisboa	1. Graetz.
		2. Rel. Adler.
1652	Coimbra	Geddes.
1653(2)	,,	MSS. Lisb.
1653	Evora	,,
1654	,,	,,
1654(3)	Lisboa	1. Silva.
		1–3. MSS. Lisb.
1655	,,	MSS. Lisb.
1655	Coimbra	,,
1656	,,	,,
1656(3)	Lisboa	,,
1657(2)	,,	,,
1657	Evora	,,
1658(2)	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
Dec. 15, 1658	Porto	Kayserling and Gottheil, *J. Q. R.*
1659	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1660(2)	,,	1. Silva.
		1–2. MSS. Lisb.
Apr. 18, 1660	Evora	Nieto.
1660	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1661	Lisboa	,,
1662(2)	,,	,,
1662	Coimbra	,,
1662	Evora	Silva.
1663	,,	MSS. Lisb.
1663	Lisboa	,,
1664	,,	Silva.
Oct. 26, 1664	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1664	Evora	Silva.
1665	,,	MSS. Lisb.
1666	,,	,,
1666	Lisboa	Silva.
1667	,,	MSS. Lisb.
1667(2)	Coimbra	1. Ex Madrid Auto, Feb. 20, 1724.
		1–2. MSS. Lisb.
1667	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1668	Lisboa	,,
1669	,,	,,
1669	Coimbra	,,
1669	Evora	,,
1670	,,	Silva.
1671(2)	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1671	Coimbra	,,
1672	Goa	Silva.
1672	Evora	,,
1673(2)	,,	MSS. Lisb.
1673	Goa	L'Inquisition de Goa.
1673(2)	Lisboa	1. Silva.
1673	Coimbra	Silva.
1674	,,	MSS. Lisb.
1676	Goa	L'Inquisition de Goa.
1676	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1677	Coimbra	,,
1678	Lisboa	,,
1682(3)[1]	,,	1. Rel. Columbina.
		1–3. MSS. Lisb.

[1] Geddes describes the auto da fé at Lisbon of May 10, 1682, as the "gravest and

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Date.*	*Place.*	*Source.*
1682 (2)	Evora	MSS. Lisb.	1694 (2)	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1682 (5)	Coimbra	1. Silva. 1–5. MSS. Lisb.	1694 (2)	Goa	„
1683 (2)	„	MSS. Lisb.	1695	„	„
1683	Evora	„	1695 (2)	Lisboa	„
1683 (2)	Lisboa	„	1695 (2)	Evora	„
1684 (2)	„	„	1696	„	„
1684	Evora	„	1696 (6)	Coimbra	„
1684	Coimbra	„	1697	„	„
1685 (5)	„	„	1698 (2)	Lisboa	„
1685	Evora	„	1698	Evora	„
1685	Lisboa	„	1699	Coimbra	„
1686	„	„	1700	Lisboa	„
1686	Evora	„	1700	Goa	„
1686 (2)	Coimbra	„	1701 (2)	„	„
1687	„	„	1701 (2)	Coimbra	„
1688 (2)	Lisboa	„	1701	Evora	„
1688 (2)	Coimbra	„	1701 (2)	Lisboa	Kayserling.
1689	„	„	1702	„	MSS. Lisb.
1690	Lisboa	„	1703	„	„
1690	Evora	„	1704 (2)	Lisboa	Ex Seville Auto, November 30, 1722.
1690	Coimbra	„			
1691	Coimbra	„	1704 (2)	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1692	Lisboa	„	1705 (2)	Lisboa	1. Rel. Bodl. and Vente de Castro.
1693	„	„			
1693	Coimbra	„			2. Silva. Nieto[1].
1694 (2)	„	„			

most terrible of the Portuguese inquisition," and adds that many of its dramatis personae were exported to Brazil as penitent New Christians.

[1] Mr. Solomon Schloss has drawn my attention to a volume in his library dealing with this auto and called *Sermam do Auto da Fe . . . na Praza do Rocio . . . Lisboa . . em Presenza de suas Altezas. Pregado pelo I. & R. S D. Diogo da Annunciazam Justiniano . . . Arcebispo que foy de Cranganor* (Lisbon, 1705). This is an 8vo volume of 89 pages, but is evidently a reprint, probably of 1722. In the same volume is bound up a similar one of 104 pages, entitled *Respuesta al Sermon predicado por el Arçobispo de Cranganor . . .* 1705. *Por el Author de las Noticias Reconditas de la Inquisicion. Obra Posthuma impressa en Villa-Franca por Carlos Vero a la Insignia de la Verdad.* Mr. Schloss also possesses the "Noticias Reconditas" here referred to. The author is described as "Anonimo," and its (fictitious) place and date are given as "Villa Franca, 1722." It is also a dual volume similar in size, paper, and print to the "Sermam." Of the two parts the first is in Portuguese and the second in Spanish ("Castellano"). Both works are written by the London Haham David Nieto, and published in London, the City of Freedom, "Villa Franca." They are here referred to as "Nieto." The former was translated into English by Moses Mocatta, *The Inquisition and Judaism*, London, 1845, and Philadelphia, 1860; vide Gaster's *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, London, 1901.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*
1705	Evora	Ex Valencia Auto, April 2, 1724.
1706	„	MSS. Lisb.
1706(3)	Coimbra	1. Silva.
		1–3. MSS. Lisb.
1706(2)	Lisboa	1. Silva.
		1–2. MSS. Lisb.
June 30 and	„	1. Silva.
		1–2. MSS. Lisb.
Nov. 6		2. Geddes.
1707(2)		
1708	Goa	MSS. Lisb.
1708	Coimbra	„
1708	Evora	„
1709(2)	Lisboa	1. Rel. Bodl.
1710(2)	Evora	1. Silva.
		1–2. MSS. Lisb.
1711(2)	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1711(2)	Lisboa	„
1712	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1713	Coimbra	Silva.
1713(2)	Lisboa	1. Silva.
		1–2. MSS. Lisb.
1714	„	Catalogue de Vente de Castro, No. 570.
1716	„	MSS. Lisb.
1716	Coimbra	„
1716	Evora	„
1717	„	„
1717(2)	Lisboa	Silva.
1717	Goa	Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*, 20 perish.
1718	Lisboa	Silva.
1718	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1718(3)	Coimbra	1. Ex Cordova Auto, April 12, 1722; Ex Murcia Auto, May 15, 1723.
		1–3. MSS. Lisb.
1719(2)	„	MSS. Lisb.
1719(2)	Lisboa	
1720	„	Silva.
1720	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1720	Vizen	„
1720(3)	Coimbra	1. Silva.
		1–3. MSS. Lisb.
1721(4)	„	MSS. Lisb.
1722	Lisboa	„
1723(2)[1]	„	1. Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.
		1–2. MSS. Lisb.
1723	Coimbra	Rel. Pal. B. M. K. K.
1723	Goa	MSS. Lisb.
1724	Evora	„
1725	„	„
1725	Lisboa	„
1725	Coimbra	„
1726	„	Silva.
1726	Goa	MSS. Lisb.
Oct. 13	Lisboa	„
1726(2)		
1727	„	„
1727	Coimbra	Silva.
May 9,	„	MSS. Lisb.
1728		
1728	Evora	„
1728	Lisboa	„
1729	„	„
1729	Coimbra	„
1730	„	„
1730	Goa	„
1730	Evora	„
1731(2)	Lisboa	„
1732(3)	„	„
1732(3)	Evora	„
1732(7)	Coimbra	„
1733	Lisboa	„
1734	Evora	„
1734(2)	Coimbra	„
1736	Evora	„
1737(2)	Coimbra	„
1738(2)	Evora	„
1739	Coimbra	„
Sep. 1 and Oct. 18	Lisboa	„
1739(2)		
1741(2)	Evora	„
1744(2)	„	„

[1] A contemporary *London Gazette*, 1723, 6207/1, announces "There will be an Auto da Fé in the Church of the Monastery of St. Dominick" (Lisbon); vide Murray's Dictionary *sub voce* Auto da Fé.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*
June 27,	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1744		
1745	„	Rel. Bodl.
1745	Coimbra	MSS. Lisb.
1746	Lisboa	Silva.
1747	„	MSS. Lisb.
1747 (2)	Evora	„
Oct. 20,	Lisboa	Silva.
1748		
1749	„	„
1749	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1750	„	„
1750	Lisboa	„
1752 (2)	Evora	„
1753	Lisboa	„
1755	„	„
1755	Evora	„
1756	„	„
1756	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1757	„	„
1757 (2)	Evora	„
1758	Lisboa	„
1759	„	Cappa 135.
1759	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1760	„	„
1761	„	„
1761 (2)	Lisboa	„ and Haydn.
Oct. 20,	Coimbra	Gottheil, *J. Q. R.*
1762		
1763 (2)	Evora	MSS. Lisb.
1765 (2)	Lisboa	„
May 31,	Evora	Gottheil, *J. Q. R.*
1767		
Dec. 18,	Lisboa	MSS. Lisb.
1767		

XLII.

PORTUGUESE AUTOS.

THE following is a list of the exact dates of many of the Portuguese Autos-da-fé referred to in Chap. XLI:—

Lisbon.	*Evora.*	*Coimbra.*	*Goa, &c.*
Sept. 20, 1540	Sept. 20, 1542		
Oct. 23, 1541	Sept. 12, 1563	Oct. 5, 1567	
May 26, 1563	Aug. 22, 1564	Aug. 1, 1568	
Mar. 9, 1567	July 24, 1569	Aug. 20, 1570	
Jan. 3, 1574	Nov. 12, 1570	Oct. 28, 1571	
May 13, 1576	Dec. 14, 1572	June 7, 1573	
April 1, 1582	Sept. 21, 1574	Sept. 12, 1574	
May 6, 1584	Nov. 14, 1574	Oct. 21, 1576	
Dec. 1, 1586	Aug. 2, 1575	Sept. 21, 1578	
Nov. 7, 1588	Dec. 10, 1581	Jan. 23, 1583	
June 17, 1590	Dec. 16, 1584	Nov. 25, 1584	
Oct. 27, 1591	Mar. 2, 1586	Nov. 9, 1586	
Feb. 13, 1594	Aug. 2, 1587	July 3, 1588	
Feb. 23, 1597	July 10, 1588	Nov. 26, 1589	
Oct. 3, 1600	Oct. 29, 1589	May 19, 1591	
Aug. 3, 1603	Mar. 31, 1591	June 27, 1593	
Aug. 3, 1604	May 31, 1592	Oct. 8, 1595	
May 22, 1605	June 14, 1594	April 12, 1598	
Nov. 19, 1606	Aug. 27, 1600	Mar. 14, 1599	
April 5, 1609	June 9, 1602	April 7, 1599	
July 31, 1611	Aug. 3, 1608	Dec. 19, 1599	
Feb. 16, 1614	Mar. 28, 1610	May 6, 1601	
Feb. 12, 1617	June 21, 1615	Sept. 15, 1602	
April 5, 1620	July 12, 1615	May 3, 1607	
Nov. 28, 1621	June 8, 1616	June 22, 1608	
May 5, 1624	Feb. 19, 1618	Mar. 28, 1610	
Mar. 14, 1627	May 19, 1619	Mar. 18, 1612	
Sept. 2, 1629	Mar. 29, 1620	Aug. 28, 1616	Feb. 7, 1617
Mar. 24, 1631	Nov. 28, 1621	Nov. 25, 1618	
Mar. 22, 1632	May 14, 1623	Mar. 21, 1619	
May 26, 1635	June 14, 1624	Mar. 29, 1620	
Aug. 3, 1636	Nov. 28, 1624	Nov. 28, 1621	
Jan. 16, 1637	Oct. 19, 1625	June 18, 1623	
Oct. 11, 1637	Nov. 29, 1626	Nov. 26, 1623	
Sept. 3, 1638	Feb. 19, 1627	May 4, 1625	
Mar. 11, 1640	June 18, 1628	May 23, 1625	
April 2, 1642	April 8, 1629	May 6, 1629	
April 6, 1642	June 30, 1630	May 7, 1634	Aug. 28, 1635
July 10, 1644	Mar. 28, 1632	June 8, 1636	Aug. 16, 1636
June 25, 1645	Oct. 23, 1633	Sept. 20, 1636	

Lisbon.	*Evora.*	*Coimbra.*	*Goa, &c.*
Nov. 18, 1646	Mar. 25, 1635	Sept. 9, 1640	
Dec. 15, 1647	June 27, 1636	Nov. 15, 1643	
Mar. 26, 1650	June 14, 1637	Feb. 24, 1647	Sept. 4, 1644
Dec. 1, 1652	May 2, 1638	June 10, 1650	
Oct. 11, 1654	April 10, 1639	June 31, 1650	
Oct. 29, 1656	Nov. 4, 1640	April 14, 1652	
Dec. 15, 1658	Aug. 21, 1644	Oct. 19, 1653	
Oct. 17, 1660	Feb. 28, 1649	April 8, 1655	Dec. 15, 1658
Oct. 18, 1660	Mar. 26, 1651	May 23, 1660	(Porto)
Sept. 17, 1661	June 8, 1653	June 9, 1662	
Aug. 17, 1664	May 6, 1657	Sept. 4, 1664	
April 4, 1666	April 18, 1660	Oct. 26, 1664	
Mar. 11, 1668	Nov. 12, 1662	Feb. 13, 1667	
June 21, 1671	May 16, 1664	Dec. 27, 1667	
Dec. 10, 1673	May 31, 1665	May 26, 1669	
May 10, 1682	June 20, 1666	June 14, 1671	Mar. 27, 1672
Aug. 8, 1683	Oct. 16, 1667	Mar. 12, 1673	
Oct. 19, 1702	Sept. 21, 1670	Nov. 18, 1674	
Sept. 6, 1705	April 3, 1672	Jan. 18, 1682	
Sept. 12, 1706	Nov. 26, 1673	July 1, 1691	
June 30, 1707	Feb. 15, 1681	Oct. 17, 1694	June 15, 1694
Nov. 6, 1707	Mar. 28, 1683	Nov. 25, 1696	Oct. 17, 1694
June 30, 1709	Mar. 22, 1705	June 14, 1699	Oct. 16, 1695
June 26, 1711	July 20, 1710	Dec. 18, 1701	Mar. 18, 1700
June 9, 1713		Mar. 2, 1704	Feb. 20, 1701
Sept. 19, 1713		July 25, 1706	Sept. 4, 1701
Oct. 14, 1714	Jan. 26, 1716	Nov. 18, 1708	June 17, 1708
Oct. 24, 1717		June 21, 1711	
June 16, 1720		Aug. 6, 1713	
Oct. 10, 1723	Mar. 26, 1724	Jan. 26, 1716	
May 6, 1725	Dec. 16, 1725	May 17, 1716	
Oct. 13, 1726		July 7, 1720	June 19, 1718
July 25, 1728		Mar. 14, 1723	Nov. 14, 1723
Oct. 16, 1729		June 10, 1725	Nov. 17, 1726
July 6, 1732		June 30, 1726	
Sept. 25, 1735		May 25, 1727	
Sept. 1, 1737		May 9, 1728	
Sept. 1, 1739		May 29, 1729	Nov. 26, 1730
Oct. 18, 1739		Oct. 8, 1730	
June 18, 1741		Nov. 9, 1732	
Nov. 4, 1742		Dec. 5, 1734	
June 21, 1744		Dec. 10, 1734	
Sept. 26, 1745		June 30, 1737	
Oct. 16, 1745		Nov. 8, 1739	
Oct. 16, 1746		Oct. 20, 1762	
Sept. 24, 1747			
Oct. 20, 1748	June 20, 1756		
Sept. 20, 1761			
Dec. 18, 1767	May 31, 1767		

XLIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF PORTUGUESE AUTOS [1].

Lisbon.	*Evora.*	*Coimbra.*	*Goa, &c.*
	1536, Oct. 22	1541, Oct. 5	1562, Sept. 20
1542, Oct. 23	1543, Sept. 23	1543, Feb. 11	Nov. 15
1543, May 6	1548	1567, Aug. 11	1563, June 27*
1544, June 20	1548, July 10	1568, Aug. 6	Dec. 5*
1548, July 10	1551	1569, July 24	1564, Oct. 27*
1559, Aug. 29	1552	Aug. 7	1565, Aug. 19
1561, May 11	1553	1570, Aug. 23	Dec. 23
1562, May 10	1555	1583, Jan. 26	1566, Feb. 10
1574, Jan. 31	1560	March 23	Dec. 22
1578, May 13	1561	May 14	1567, June 15*
	1567, June 15	1588	1568, Jan. 18*
	1569, Jan. 9	July 5	Jan. 28*
1588, Nov. 20	1576, Jan. 15	1589, Nov. 26	1569, July 17*
Dec. 8	1593	1591, May 19	1571, April 22*
1591, Nov. 27	1596, May 12	1593, June 27	1572, Oct. 12
1599, Jan. 31	1597, Sept. 28	1597	1574, May 18*
1600, Sept. 3	1598, July 12	1598, Feb. 8	1575, Sept. 4*
1605, Jan. 16	1599, May 16	March 17	1576, Oct. 28*
Dec. 19	June 1	1599, April 27	1577, Sept. 1*
1609, May 5	Aug. 8	Sept. 21	1578, Aug. 17*
May 29	1602, June 3	1602, April 5	1579, Sept. 6*
1611, July 20	July 14	1605, Jan. 16	1580, Dec. 4*
1614, July 9	1605, Jan. 16	1607, Jan. 7	1581, Nov. 2
1618, May 3	March 27	1608, Aug. 3	1582, Dec. 14*
1619, March 14	1606, Sept. 24	1618, Nov. 28	1585, Nov. 10*
Nov. 10	1608, June 22	1618	1587, Sept. 13*
1621, Jan. 20	1612, Feb. 19	1619, March 24	1590, Dec. 8
Dec. 8	1615, June 21	1621, Feb. 8	1596, Dec. 8
Dec. 17	1620, Aug. 30	Nov. 29	†1600
1624, March 9	1624, July 14	Nov. 30	1601, Jan. 30
May 5		1622, Feb. 8	1605
May 18		1623, Nov. 28	1606, Nov. 19
1626, Aug. 18	1626, Nov. 30	1626, Aug. 16	1607, Dec. 9
1627, Sept. 19	1627, Sept. 19	1627, Aug. 22	1610, Oct. 17*
1628, March 24		Sept. 19	1612, June 3
1629, Sept. 22	1629, April 1	1630, April 13	1618, Nov. 18
1630, April 13		Oct. 5	1623, Dec. 10

[1] Most of the dates have been derived from the *Historia da Inquisição.*

* Jews were killed at this auto.

† Repertorio geral de l'Inq. de Goa (MS. by Juan Delgado Figueyra in the Bib. Nac. Lisboa).

Lisbon.	*Evora.*	*Coimbra.*	*Goa, &c.*
1631, July 5		1631, Aug. 17	†1624
1632, April 26		1632, July 9	†1627, Feb. 7
Aug. 12		1634, May 10	
1633, Nov. 9		1636, Feb. 28	1635, Aug. 26
1634, April 2		1637, March 24	
1635, May 20		June 17	
1636, Feb. 16	1636, July 27	1637	
1638, Sept. 5		1638, May 17	
1639, June 10		Oct. 31	
Aug. 17		1641, Sept. 15	
1640, June 20	1640, Nov. 7	1645, Oct. 23	1640, March 14
June 21	1641, June 29	1647, May 24	
1644, July 12	1642, Oct. 26	1647	
July 23	1642	1647	
1645, May 27	1643, April 26	1650, July 10	†1650, April 4
1646, Oct. 5	1646, Nov. 18	July 31	1651, Dec. 3
1647, Dec. 19		Aug. 21	
1649, July 12		1652, Oct. 25	
1650, April 4		1653, Oct. 11	†1653, Dec. 14
July 10		Oct. 30	†1654, March 27
Sept. 27		1655, March 5	†1655, Dec. 19
Oct. 17		March 18	
1652, Dec. 20	1653, March 10	April 18	
1654, Nov. 21	1654, Dec. 22	1656, June 18	†1656, April 9
1655, Dec. 23		June 27	† May 11, 12
1656, Feb. 8		July 3	† Oct. 15
Feb. 20		July 9	
1657, July 11		1656, Oct. 14	
Nov. 19		1657	†1657, March 16
1658, Dec. 23		1660, May 26	† Oct. 21
1659, Oct. 26		1662, June 22	†1658, Oct. 6
1660, Oct. 21		July 9	† Oct. 16
1661 Aug. 18		1664, Oct. 26	†1660, March 14
1662, Oct. 19		1666, May 26	†1662, March 29
1663, Feb. 20	1663, June 23	1667, Feb. 3	†1664, May 13
1663	1664, May 11	Feb. 13	("Meza")
1667, Oct. 11	Nov. 11	Feb. 14	
Dec. 14	1668, Sept. 7	Feb. 15	
1669, March 31	1669, June 16	Dec. 23	
1671, Oct. 8	1670, Sept. 22	1668, March 11	
1673, Dec. 10	1671, June 14	1670, May 24	
Dec. 20	1673, Dec. 26	1671, June 15	1673, Dec.
1675, June 17	1674, Aug. 16	1673, March 13	1676, Jan. 12
1676, Aug. 6		1675, Feb. 7	
1678, June 10		1677, Jan. 28	
1682, May 13		Dec. 14	
Oct. 22	1682, Feb. 15	1682, Jan. 23	
Nov. 16	July 4	April 14	

† Repertorio geral de l'Inq. de Goa (MS. by Juan Delgado Figueyra in the Bib. Nac. Lisboa).

Lisbon.	*Evora.*	*Coimbra.*	*Goa, &c.*
1682, Nov. 17		1682, Aug. 17	
		Nov. 7	
1683, Aug. 8	1683, May 31	1683, Feb. 21	
Aug. 11		March 13	
Aug. 23		March 23	
		May 6	
		May 14	
		Sept. 25	
1684, Nov. 26	1684, March 12	1684, Jan. 2	
Nov. 29		May 14	
		Aug. 8	
		Sept. 15	
		Dec. 29	
1685, Oct. 22	1685, May 13	1685, Jan. 10	1685, Dec. 9
		Feb. 4	1685, 11 "Mezas," i. e. autos in private.
		Feb. 7	
		April 17	
		June 24	
		June 30	
1686, July 14	1686, Nov. 24	July 3	1686, Jan. 10
1688, March 14		Nov. 16	"Meza"
March 17		1686, May 12	July 21
1689, Jan. 8		June 9	
1690, June 27	1690, Dec. 10	June 12	
1691, April 10	1691	1687, Oct. 14	1687, Jan. 19
1692, Feb. 23		1688, Sept. 25	1688, March 28
April 26		Dec. 4	1689, March 28
1693, Jan. 8		1689, Aug. 21	Dec. 11
May 18		1690, May 2	1690, Oct. 8
1694, May 16		May 8	
May 21		1691, July 24	
1695, May 4	1695, Oct. 9	1693, Sept. 11	1693, Nov. 1
1696, May 6	Oct. 12	1694, Oct. 21	
1697, Aug. 1	1696, Dec. 24	Nov. 20	
1698, Nov. 9	1698, March 16	1696, April 13	
Nov. 14	1699, June 16	Aug. 14	
1700, Aug. 11		Aug. 23	
Aug. 12		Oct. 18	
Aug. 22		Dec. 3	
1701, Dec. 9	1701, July 24	1697, Oct. 31	1697, April 21
1702, March 19		1698, March 17	Nov. 3
1703, Sept. 9		1699, May 2	1698, Dec. 14
1704, Aug. 22		June 20	1700, March 27
Oct. 19		1701, Dec. 23	March 28
Oct. 30		1704, Jan. 29	1703, Nov. 18
1706, Feb. 23	1706, Aug. 8	March 5	
1707, Nov. 28	1708, Sept. 9	1706, July 28	1705, May 24
1709, July 18	1710, July 23	Dec. 4	
1711, July 26		1708	
Aug. 1		1709, Sept. 4	

Lisbon.	*Evora.*	*Coimbra.*	*Goa, &c.*
1711, Oct. 27		1711, June 26	
1712, Nov. 16	1712, Dec. 2	Oct. 14	
Dec. 13	Dec. 6[1]	1712, Aug. 12	
1713, March 15		1713, June 5	
July 9		June 22	
1714, Nov. 15		Aug. 12	1715, Oct. 27
1715, April 10		1716, Jan. 21	1716, June 7
1716, Feb. 16	1716, Jan. 29	May 2	Dec. 13
July 20		May 23	1717, Sept. 5
1717, Oct. 30	1717, April 25	1718, Feb. 7	1718, Oct. 2
1718, Dec. 15	1718, May 22	June 19	
		June 23	
		Nov. 7	
		1719, Jan. 4	1719, Sept. 15
1719, June 19		Oct. 7	
Dec. 6		Oct. 16	
		Dec. 11	
	1720, April 21	1720, March 18	
1720, June 16		April 16	
		April 19	
		July 10	
		Aug. 30	
1721, July 31		1721, Jan. 21	
		April 3	
		April 7	
		Aug. 13	
		Oct. 7	
		Oct. 25	
1722, June 16		1722, May 27	1722, Nov. 11
1723, July 9[1]		Dec. 4	
Oct. 21	1723, Nov. 22	1723, Jan. 23	
		March 14	
		March 20	
		May 21	
1726, Feb. 7	1726, Jan. 26	1724, June 27	1725, March 4
1727, March 27		1725, March 9	Nov. 11
1728, Dec. 3	1728, July 27	1726, Aug. 9	1727, Nov. 23
1731, June 17	1730, Sept. 10	1728, May 15	
June 21		1729, June 27	
July 7	1732, March 6	1730, Oct. 13	
1732, Feb. 28	Sept. 21	Oct. 27	1732, Jan. 13
July 12	Sept. 25	1732, April 22	Dec. 14
1733, Sept. 20	1735, Sept. 2	July 24	1733, Jan. 3
Sept. 26	Nov. 18	Aug. 30	June 21
1735, July 24	1736, Feb. 5	Nov. 11	July 21
July 30	Sept. 2	Nov. 13	Dec. 13
1737, Sept. 16	1738, July 13	Nov. 14	

[1] Referred to in auto of Oct. 10, 1723, at Lisbon.

Lisbon.	*Evora.*	*Coimbra.*	*Goa, &c.*
1739, Nov. 5	1738, July 15	1732, Nov. 20	1734, Sept. 5
1741, June 6	1741, July 23	1734, April 20	1736, Jan. 15
1742, Nov. 9	July 28	Dec. 11	Aug. 16
1744, July 1	1744, Oct. 18	1735, Dec. 2	Dec. 30†
		1737, July 9	
1745, Oct. 23		July 12	1741, Dec. 17
1746, Nov. 5	1744, Oct. 20	1739, Nov. 11	1742, Dec. 23
1747, Oct. 14	Oct. 21	1742, May 29	1744, Jan. 19
1748, Dec. 30	1746, Nov. 25	July 8	1745, Dec. 5
1749, Oct. 20	1747, March 19	1744, Aug. 1	1747, Dec. 10
Nov. 16	May 12	Aug. 9	1749, March 23
1750, Nov. 8	1749, Oct. 20	1745, Oct. 20	1750, Dec. 6
Nov. 26	1750, Feb. 14	Oct. 23	1752, Jan. 9
1752, Sept. 24	1752, July 23	1746, May 5	1753, May 27
Oct. 30	July 28	May 7	1754, Aug. 18
1753, Aug. 1	Oct. 23	1747, July 24	1755, Dec. 14
1754, May 19	1755, April 27	1749, July 13	1756, Aug. 18
1755, Jan. 15	1756, June 20	1749	1757, May 15
1756, Oct. 8	1757, Sept. 18	1750, April 10	1758, Nov. 12
1757, Sept. 28	Sept. 25	Aug. 21	1761, Feb. 1
1758, Aug. 27	Sept. 28	1751, Aug. 22	1763, May 29
1759, Aug. 29	1759, May 6	1752, Oct. 25	1764, May 13
1761, April 6	1760, Aug. 31	1753, July 29	1765, March 17
1765, Feb. 16	1761, Dec. 20	1755, July 27	1765, 10 "Me-
Oct. 7	Dec. 21	Aug. 13	zas"
Oct. 27	1763, Jan. 16	1756, July 17	1766, Sept. 21
1767, Sept. 20	Jan. 18	Oct. 14	1768, May 29
Dec. 19	1767	1759, Dec. 23	1769, May 7
1778, Oct. 8		1762, Oct. 16	1771, Feb. 3
1794, Aug. 7	1781, Sept. 16	1781, Aug. 26	1773, Feb. 7

† Repertorio geral de l'Inq. de Goa (MS. by *Juan Delgado Figueyra* in the Bib. Nac. Lisboa).

XLIV.

American Autos.

In the *Transactions of the American Jewish Historical Society* original documents in my possession and other materials as to the establishment of the American Inquisition in 1569 and its subsequent history will shortly be published. In order, however, to add to the lists of autos already collected here, I append the dates of thirty-six celebrated at Lima and fifty-four at Cartagena de las Indias. The sources and other particulars of these are given in the twelfth volume of *Transactions* and in a separate reprint.

AUTOS DE FÉ AT LIMA.

Nov. 15, 1573	Aug. 11, 1635	1728
April 1, 1578	Aug. 17, 1635	July 12, 1733
Oct. 29, 1581	Jan. 23, 1639	Dec. 23, 1736
Nov. 30, 1587	Nov. 17, 1641	Nov. 11, 1737
April 5, 1592	Jan. 23, 1664	Oct. 19, 1749
Dec. 17, 1595	Feb. 16, 1666	April 6, 1761
Dec. 10, 1600	June 28, 1667	Sept. 1, 1773
March 13, 1605	Oct. 8, 1667	1776
June 1, 1608	March 16, 1693	Feb. 18, 1800
June 17, 1612	Dec. 20, 1694	Aug. 27, 1803
Dec. 21, 1625	Nov. 28, 1719	Sept. 10, 1805
Feb. 27, 1631	Dec. 21, 1720	July 17, 1806

AUTOS DE FÉ AT CARTAGENA DE LAS INDIAS.

Feb. 2, 1614	June 6, 1655	May 30, 1688
July, 1618	Oct. 1, 1656	Dec. 11, 1689
March 13, 1622	Sept. 16, 1657	April 29, 1691
June 17, 1626	May, 1669	March, 1695
Aug. 6, 1627	March 2, 1670	April 27, 1697
June 25, 1628	Aug. 24, 1671	April 29, 1699
March 7, 1632	Sept. 4, 1671	Jan. 10, 1700
March 26, 1634	Sept. 4, 1672	June 20, 1700
June 1, 1636	Feb. 17, 1675	Feb. 24, 1707
March 25, 1638	April 4, 1677	March 18, 1708
July 22, 1642	Oct. 23, 1678	May 21, 1708
May 24, 1648	Nov. 12, 1679	May 26, 1711
Nov. 28, 1649	Dec. 21, 1681	July 9, 1713
Dec. 21, 1650	Oct. 28, 1682	July 29, 1714
April 25, 1653	July 29, 1683	June 11, 1715
July 22, 1653	Aug. 29, 1683	Nov. 30, 1715
April 28, 1654	Feb. 11, 1685	June 20, 1717
May 8, 1655	Sept. 9, 1685	Feb. 5, 1782

XLV.

AUTOS DE FÉ IN MEXICO.

MOST of the following data are culled from Lea's *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York, Macmillan, 1908), quoted as Lea with the page where the reference occurs. At first these autos were celebrated under episcopal inquisition, but a regular Holy Office was installed in 1570.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
1524–6	Mexico	Lea 196	1 heretic burnt and 2 reconciled.
1536	"	"	A Lutheran reconciled.
1539	"	"	A Jew reconciled and a native Cacique burnt for offering human sacrifices.
1549	"	De Castro 224	
1555	"	Lea 197	A Lutheran reconciled.
1558	"	"	Robert Thompson and another Lutheran penanced.
1560	"	Lea 198	7 Lutherans penanced.
1561	"	"	A French and a Greek Lutheran penanced.
1562	"	"	2 French Calvinists penanced.
1569	"	De Castro 228	
Feb. 28, 1574[1]	"	Lea 199	74 sufferers; 36 Lutherans, mostly English sailors under Hawkins, and several Judaizers.
Mar. 6, 1575	"	Lea 206	31 victims, Cornelius the Irishman burnt.
Feb. 19, 1576	"	"	Manuel Diaz garroted and burnt.
Dec. 15, 1577	"	Lea 207	3 Protestants and 1 Jew penanced. Alvarez Pliego is described as "the first Judaizer." Cp. supra, 1539.

[1] Between 1574 and 1600, 879 cases are recorded, an annual average of 34 contrasting with 35 in the Tribunal of Toledo.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
1578	Mexico	Lea 207	2 Jews burnt.
1579	,,	,,	1 Jew burnt who had been 20 years in Mexico, also a French Calvinist burnt in effigy.
1579–1590	,,	,,	"Only a few autos."
1590	,,	,,	11 Jews; 1 burnt in person and 1 in effigy.
1591	,,	,,	A Jew Castillano penanced who had resided in Mexico since 1542.
1592	,,	Lea 208 and Rodrigo	The family of a Rabbi Mattos penanced.
1594	,,	Lea 208	
1595	,,	,,	
Dec. 8, 1596	,,	,,	66 penanced, including 22 Jews, of whom 9 were burnt in person and 10 in effigy. 1 was Luis de Carvajal.
Mar. 26, 1601	,,	,,	124 penitents, of whom 4 were burnt and 16 in effigy, including Carvajal's sister, who could recite backwards the Hebrew Psalms and "Esther's Prayer."
1603	,,	Lea 226	A Fleming relaxed for Calvinism, a Jew reconciled.
1606	,,	,, and Lea IV	A Mulatto relaxed.
1608	,,	Lea IV	
1621	,,	Lea 226	A German reconciled for Calvinism.
1625	,,	,,	3 Judaizers reconciled.
1626	,,	,,	1 Jew burnt in effigy.
1630	,,	,,	3 Jews reconciled.
1635	,,	,,	17 Jews, 1 burnt in person, 4 in effigy, and 12 reconciled.
1636	,,	,,	1 Jew burnt in effigy.
Jan. 23, 1639	,,	,, and Kohut	
1645	,,	,, and Cyrus Adler	Gabriel de Granada penanced.
1646	,,	Lea 230 and Rel. Bodl.	38 Judaizers. The confiscations yielded 38,732 pesos.
1647	,,	,, ,,	21 Judaizers. The confiscations yielded 148,562 pesos.

Date.	*Place.*	*Source.*	*Remarks.*
Mar. 29, 1648	Mexico	Lea 230	A public auto, 1 Jew relaxed and 16 punished.
Mar. 30, 1648	,,	,, and IV and Rel. Bodl.	Auto particular. 21 Jews burnt in effigy, 2 Mahometans penanced.
Apr. 11, 1649	,,	,, ,,	A great auto yielding three million pesos; 109 convicts, 9 Jews banished, 19 reconciled, 12 garroted and then burnt, 1 burnt alive, 65 burnt in effigy, 1 Protestant. One of the Jews was gagged on the way to the stake, to silence what were styled his blasphemies.
1652	,,	Lea IV	
Oct. 29, 1656	,,	Lea 234	Auto particular.
Nov. 19, 1659	,,	Rel. Adler	32 victims, 5 Jews burnt. "The last auto of murderous activity."
May 4, 1664	,,	Lea III	
Dec. 7, 1664	,,	,,	
1690	Oaxaca	Lea 209	26 Indians reconciled. Indians were too poor to be profitable victims.
Jan. 15, 1696	Mexico	Lea 270	26 penitents.
Mar. 20, 1679	,,	,,	1 relaxed.
1704	,,	Lea 271	8 bigamists and 2 sorcerers punished.
1708	,,	,,	13 penitents.
1712	,,	,,	1 Jew penanced.
1722	,,	,,	12 penitents.
Sept. 6, 1767	,,	,,	4 culprits.
Mar. 13, 1768	,,	,,	17 culprits.
Aug. 9, 1795	,,	Lea 273	The last public auto. Among those penanced were a Judaizer, Rafael Gil Rodriguez, a Lutheran and a Freemason.
Nov. 26, 1814	,,	Lea 292	The patriot Morelos handed over to the secular arm, and executed on Dec. 22.
1815	,,	Haydn	"The last auto in Mexico."

XLVI.

Documents as to the Mexican Inquisition.

The Inquisition at Mexico was zealous enough, and Medina has been engaged in a work specially dealing therewith. Dr. George Kohut and others have frequently devoted their attention to Mexico, and, indeed, Dr. Kohut has an article of eighteen pages in Vol. XI of the *Transactions of the American Jewish Historical Society*, dealing with a single Mexican trial, that of Francisco Maldonado de Silva, who was burnt at the auto of Jan. 23, 1639.

Mr. E. Nott Anable, during a recent visit to Mexico of several months' duration, found there in the hands of an antiquary a collection of MSS. relating to the "Holy Inquisition" of Mexico, covering the period from 1601 to 1692, and has brought them to New York.

The papers for the most part refer to trials before the Inquisition. All the papers relating to each case are collected together, and make thirty-one volumes, about nine and a half inches by thirteen, of which twenty-one volumes are bound in vellum and eleven are bound without covers.

The collections consist generally of the information laid with the officers of the Inquisition by some person, an order directing the arrest of the accused party, the return of the officer who executed the writ, a report of the bearing of the accused, with the statement made by him, the testimony of the witnesses examined for and against him (in some cases statements made by the accused under torture), the judgment of the Inquisitors, and the report of the infliction of the punishment to which the accused was condemned.

Many papers bear the original seals of the church officers of the Inquisition, and are of unquestionable authenticity.

The crimes with which the accused were charged are varied. Many are for "observing the Laws of Moses,"

several are against priests "for soliciting criminal favours after confession of their spiritual daughters," one is for maintaining a compact with the Devil, another for practising witchcraft, others for heresy and blasphemy.

The following is Mr. Nott Anable's description of his volumes containing the original records of trials before the "Holy Inquisition" of Mexico between the years 1601 and 1692.

Volume 22. *More than* 100 *pages.* *Year* 1601.

Process against Leonor de Caceres, only child of Antonio Diaz de Caceres, and Miss Catalina Cueva de Carbajal, his wife, also her mother and sisters, for Judaism, &c., &c.

Volume 1. *More than* 400 *pages.* *Year* 1602.

Criminal case against Bartolome Barba, against Jose de Aguilar, and against Sanchez de Ciordia, a document of two and a half pages, in the old Mexican language, and criminal case against Francisco de Carbajal. Several letters from the commissioner of the Holy Inquisition in Vera Cruz. Information from the same commissioner at Vera Cruz. Process against Geronimo Revera, soldier from New Mexico, born in Sevilla, for having married twice, year 1603. Process against Pedro Marquez, from the village of Puebla de los Angeles. Information of the genealogy and character of Fernando Mendez Valdez, living at the city of Cobu, Islands of Philippines, and his wife, Isabel Jimenez, year 1603.

Volume 23. 244 *pages.* *Year* 1603.

Process against Fraile Joseph Pirez de Ugarte, priest belonging to the Order of Merced in the convent in the city of Mexico, for having acted as commissioner in cases of the Holy Inquisition without having a right to do so.

Volume 2. 25 *pages.* *Year* 1609.

Process against Francisco Munoz, clergyman presbyter from the Archbishopric of Guadalajara, for soliciting criminal favours after confession. Information against Pedro de la Reynera and Francesca Villa Varde, his wife, their genealogy and morals, of the city of Mexico. A document of inquiry regarding the Holy Inquisition from the Kingdom of Navarra, Spain. Information how Fraile P. Frechel, of the San Augustin Order, was elected member of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of the town of Burgos, year 1617.

Volume 3. 300 *pages.* *Year* 1620.

Process against Fraile Esteban Rodriguez, of the San Franciscan Order, priest and confessor, Superior of the Convent of Mexcatitla, Province of Zacatecas, for soliciting criminal favours of boys in confession. Criminal process against Domingo Diaz, alias Domingo Rodriguez, a Portuguese of the city of Los Angeles in New Spain, for Judaism (or being a Jew), year 1622. Information against twenty-four persons (God dispose of them). Commissioner of the Holy Inquisition of Puebla against De Diaz. Publications, &c., &c., against Fraile Rodriguez.

Volume 4. 300 *pages.* *Year* 1622.

Criminal case against Presbyter Fraile Pedro Martin Balao, year 1622. A Dominican, for soliciting criminal favours.

Volume 5. 300 *pages.* *Year* 1624.

Process against Baltazar del Valle, Portuguese, of the city of Zamora, for being a Jew (or Judaism), and a document regarding his character.

Volume 6. 400 *pages.* *Year* 1624.

Criminal process against Fraile (Priest) Pedro Martin. Criminal process against Sebastian Dominguez from Medina, for being married twice.

Volume 24. 190 *pages.* *Year* 1626.

Process and criminal case against Miss Antonia Belle, of New Vera Cruz, born in Alcalsazar, for witchcraft.

Volume 7. 150 *pages.* *Year* 1629.

Process against Francesca, of St. Joseph's, inmate of the Convent of the Conception, of the city of Oaxaca.

Volume 8. 150 *pages.* *Year* 1631.

Process against Fraile Pedro Rodriguez, Order of San Francisco, from the province of San Francisco and from the same island, for saying mass without being ordained a priest. Evidence from the Holy Inquisition of Valladolid.

Volume 9. 500 *pages.* *Year* 1634.

Criminal process against Baltazar de Valle alias Diaz, from Zamora in Spain. His parents were Portuguese, forty-six years old, peddler, married and living at Pachuca, for Judaism. There were nine witnesses against him, and he testified against twelve. Francisco de Vidal, member of religious order. Copy of information.

Volume 21. 400 *pages.* *Year* 1642.

Process and denouncement of Miss Isabel Texoso, living in New Vera Cruz, sixty years old, for being a Jewess; had ten trials, twenty-eight persons testifying against her. Criminal case and process asked for by the fiscal or attorney of the Holy Office against the memory and fame of Isabel Texoso, 1659. Pretensions of the Presbyter Serafine Garcia Gardenas for commissioner of the Holy Office in his Curate in Real of Guarysonray, year 1791.

Volume 10. 500 *pages.* *Year* 1642.

Criminal process against Simon Lopez, from the city of Guarda in Portugal, peddler and living in Portugal, for following the Laws of Moses. Advice that Juan Duarte, Francisco Lopez, and Simon Lopez, of Aguarda, Portugal, have been imprisoned. Letters from Lopez while in the Inquisition prison. Criminal process and case against George Jacinto, of Mexico, born in Malaga, husband of Blanca Juarez, for following the Laws of Moses; thirty-eight witnesses against him, for being besides a heretic and Jew, he giving evidence against thirty-three persons. (This case was tried before the celebrated Manozca.)

Publication No. 7 of the American Jewish Historical Society contains a translation of the trial of Gabriel de Granada (1642–1645), and Simon Lopez was one of the persons against whom he deposed.

Volume 11. 300 *pages.* *Year* 1642.

Criminal process against Francisco Ruiz, a foreigner and a weaver living in Guatemala, for being a heretic. Criminal process against Diego Juarez, 1642, from Pazcuaro, State of Michoacan, born in Lisbon, for being a Jew, forty-three years old; fifty-five witnesses.

Volume 12. 250 *pages.* *Year* 1642.

Criminal process against Miss Francisco Texoso, of Vera Cruz, born in Sevilla, thirty years old, for being a Jewess; twenty-seven witnesses, she giving evidence against forty-two persons; the celebrated Irishman Azuzena had criminal connexion with her, as she had with many other persons. Criminal process, 1642, against George Montoya, from Castle Blanco in Portugal, a fugitive, heretic and Jew; he was delivered to the Holy Inquisition as an offender at the Auto da Fé or General Order to the criminal judges in April, 1649; he was also a prisoner of the Inquisition in Goa. A judicial letter or notice to Géorge Moya. Documents sent to priests regarding the foregoing letter.

Volume 13. 300 *pages.* *Year* 1642

Criminal process against Antonio Tinoco, dead, the son of James Tinoco, dead, and Mrs. Henriqueta, of Mexico, for following the Laws of Moses. Letters and advices to his sons and descendants, grandchildren, heirs, or any other persons. Criminal process against James de San Martin, from the Mines of Los Ramos, for having married twice. This case has signatures of many important persons.

Volume 14. 320 *pages.* *Year* 1643.

Criminal case against Mrs. Catarina Enriquez, of Vera Cruz, Jewess, for following the Laws of Moses; thirty years old, from Sevilla. Widow of Pedro Arias Maldonado, of Portugal; she had twenty-two brothers, and ninety persons gave evidence against her. Circular and advices of her descendants. Criminal process against the (dead) Gasper de Fonseca, from Portugal, belonging to the village of Ayula, where he died, for having been a Jew. An edict or proclamation. Criminal process against Lorenzo de Torquemada for having tried to become a member of the Holy Inquisition. Criminal case against Francisco Rasen, Frenchman, from Normandy, two leagues from the port of Understadt, pernicious heretic, procurer of heretics, Jew and Calvinist, 1643; ninety persons witnesses against him. A proclamation or edict. Criminal case against Juan Augustin, a mulatto, labourer in the smelter at Guadalajara, for having married twice, 1649.

Volume 15. 222 *pages.* *Year* 1643.

Criminal process against Lorenzo de Torquemada, for having forced himself in as a member of the Holy Inquisition. Case against Francisco Rasen, Frenchman, from Normandy, heretic, follower of Luther, Jew, &c.

Volume 25. 20 *pages.* *Year* 1643.

Process and criminal case against Fraile Domingo Ramos, of the Order of Santo Domingo, of the province of Chiapas, for having asked criminal favours of his spiritual daughters during confessions.

Volume 26. 134 *pages.* *Year* 1643.

Process and criminal case against Margarita Morena, of the city of Mexico, follower of the Laws of Moses, wife of Amaro Diaz Martarana, peddler of the city of Mexico, aged thirty-two years; seven witnesses against her and twenty-four witnesses for her.

Volume 16. 304 *pages.* *Year* 1652.

Criminal case against Yuan Manuel, mulatto, free, from Ciranandaro, Michoacan, a cow-boy at the farm of Coralejo. It was proven by the Holy Inquisition that he had a covenant, contract, or (pacto) with the Devil, a forsaker of the Holy Catholic Religion, and the master of this offence. A judicial sentence against Juan Rodriguez for having been married twice at the mines of Paral.

Volume 17. 320 *pages.* *Year* 1653.

Criminal case and process against Juana Gutierrez Jalapa, negress, not a slave, belonging to New Vera Cruz. Juana Jalapa was a notable witch; there are many traditions amongst the people regarding her witchcraft. The attorney representing the Holy Inquisition against Luis Rame for being a heretic and belonging to different sects, year 1685.

Volume 18. 250 *pages.* *Year* 1661.

Denunciation of Nicholas Bazen, mulatto, a slave, belonging to Melchor Diaz de Posadas, against a brother of Melchor de Posadas, Fernando Diaz, his son, and others, and continuation of the case. Criminal case against Pedro Correo, owner of a Hacienda, married in Paral, for blasphemy and being a renegade from or of God, year 1666.

Volume 19. 320 *pages.* *Year* 1665.

Evidence and sentence as an object of terror. In virtue of an order of the Holy Secretary of the illustrious tribunal of the Holy Inquisition of Mexico of the Kingdom and Provinces of New Spain, against the person and property of Pedro Correa Juarez. The Presbyter Juan Bilboa, by order of the Vicar ecclesiastical and commission of the Holy Office in the Real of San Joseph of Paral and its districts. Case against Miss Maria Garces, mulatto, not a slave, for having said things against God, 1678.

Volume 20. 390 *pages.* *Year* 1673.

The attorney of the Holy Office against Fraile Christobal Bosueto, alias de la Cruz, forty years old, married. The attorney of the Inquisition of the Holy Office against Father and Fraile Ygnacio Carbajal, of the Order of San Augustin, for criminal solicitation, year 1787.

Volume 27. 320 *pages.* *Year* 1673.

Criminal case against Juan Gonzalez de Molina, a Notary Public, living at Carvarroya; De Palavera, living at Tepeaca; Francisco Yanez, living at Tocumachalco; Ana de Figueroa, from Leon in Spain, living

in Mexico; Juan Lopez, a horse-shoer of Mexico, for having put in a village a statue of two Sambenitos. A letter with the great seal of the Holy Inquisition. Another large letter with seal.

Volume 30. 350 *pages.* *Year* 1688.

The Fiscal Inquisitor or Attorney for the Inquisition and Holy Office against Fraile Eusebio Vellarejo, lecturer in secret of Holy Theology and of the Holy Catholic Missions in the City of Pachuca.

Volume 29. 165 *pages.* *Year* 1690.

Publication of the general proclamation of the Holy Faith and lectures on the letter of excommunication, at the Mines of Chichicapa. Commission of the P. M. Fraile Nicolas de Cabrera, of the Order of San Domingo, Catedratico of Oaxaca. Certificates of the Holy Office of the Inquisition to the Notary Fraile Joseph Balencia, &c., &c. Information in the case against Antonio Fernandez Machuca, of Oaxaca.

Volume 28. 57 *pages.* *Year* 1692.

The Fiscal or Attorney of the Holy Inquisition against the Clergyman Sebastian Bolanos, from Guatemala, for criminal solicitation or asking criminal favours.

Volume 31.

Book of sixty pages, official and other letters.

Volume 32. 54 *pages.* *Year* 1647.

Memorials of the father and grandparents of Captain Gasper de 'Arma of Guatemala, born at the Canary Islands.

XLVII.

ITALIAN RECORDS.

THE Roman Inquisition, as has already been pointed out, is still in force, though its subjects are now paper and ink instead of flesh and blood. But in the three centuries preceding the French Revolution it was hardly less active if not quite so bloodthirsty, as its savage daughters in the Peninsula. Where are its records? For a reply to this question we must proceed to a famous Protestant University in Ireland. In 1809 Napoleon took away with him from Rome to Paris over 400 tons' weight of these Inquisition

Records. After his downfall they were restored to Rome, but the pontifical authorities, who have always shown themselves more politic than literary, thought it best to destroy them. And accordingly the precious documents were cut up into minute particles and then sold to the paper-makers. Even so, they realized as waste paper no less than 4,300 francs. Sixty-six volumes, however, of these "Dataria" seem to have escaped that fate, and were purchased by the then Duke of Manchester in 1841. Vice-Provost Wall bought them of him in 1854, and then presented them to the library of Trinity College, Dublin. They constitute a perfect mine of historical information, and are highly treasured by the authorities, who have had them nicely bound and preserved in a strong room. Mr. Karl Benrath has published a rather full description of their contents in the 1879 and 1880 volumes of *La Rivista Cristiana*. He analyses them into three series:—

(*a*) Twelve volumes of Pontifical Briefs and Bulls, Boniface IX to Pius VI, and one volume of Clement XIII, for the years 1389, 1434, 1439, 1463, 1489, 1493, 1530, 1556, 1561, 1745, 1777, and 1784;

(*b*) Nineteen volumes of original Sentences for the years 1564 to 1659; and

(*c*) Thirty-five volumes, giving details of proceedings against heretics and other clerical offenders during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of these volumes devotes over a hundred pages to the investigation of a charge of ritual murder against the Jews of Ancona in the year 1711, and their ultimate vindication.

A similar collection of documents relating to the Inquisition in the Canary Islands is in Lord Bute's possession, and a sumptuous catalogue[1] thereof has been published and was favourably reviewed in more than a column of the *Times Literary Supplement* for September 16, 1904.

[1] *Catalogue of a Collection of Original Manuscripts formerly belonging to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands:* and now in the possession of the Marquess of Bute, with a notice of some unpublished records of the same series in the British Museum. Prepared under the direction of John, third Marquess of Bute, K.T., LL.D., by W. de Gray Birch, LL.D., F.S.A., Librarian and Curator. In two volumes. (Blackwood, £3 3s.)

XLVIII.

Comparative Annals.

The following comparative Table groups the number of Spanish and Portuguese autos in periods of five years, and although manifestly incomplete for the reasons stated, it will be some guide to the alternating waves of persecution and tolerance in those countries. Between 1720 and 1725 a zealous publisher has preserved the "Relacions[1]" of an exceptionally large number of Spanish autos, and the increased number of recorded cases is not due to greater intolerance, for Philip, first of the House of Bourbon, ruled from 1700–59, and maintained throughout his long reign an uninterrupted dead level of inefficiency.

Llorente, and most of the encyclopædists and historians who have followed him, assume that the average number of victims gradually diminished after the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that in the eighteenth torture was abandoned, and the deaths dropped to two or three or even less in the year. The above statistics suffice to refute this as being an amiable hypothesis not founded on fact.

[1] Vide post LII "Printed Authorities" sub voce "Auto de Fé." The title-page to one of the rarer, and possibly unique, Relacions is here reproduced in facsimile.

AVTO GENERAL
DE LA FEE.

LAVREADAS LAS TRIVNFADORAS SIENES
DE LA RELIGION CHATOLICA.
SVBIVGADA LA CERVIZ DE LA FIERA
APOSTASIA.
LENITIVA PIEDAD DE LA SIEMPRE
VERDE OLIVA.
ESTRAGO VENGATIVO DE LA SIEMPRE INVICTA
ESPADA.

CELO APOSTOLICO DEL SANCTO TRIBVNAL DE LA INQVISICION.

Celebrado en Cordoba Lunes veinte y nueue de Junio dia de los Apostoles y Principes de la Yglesia S. Pedro, y S. Pablo.

Sermon por el muy Reuerendo Padre Fray Pedro de Herrera Lector de Prima de el Real Conuento y Colegio de S. Pablo de Cordoba, Orden de Predicadores.

Con Licencia en Cordoba, por Andres Carrillo de Paniagua. Año de 1665.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF A RARE 'RELACION' OF AN AUTO DE FÉ

Years.	*No. of Autos in Spain.*	*No. of Autos in Portugal.*	*Events.*
1480-4	36		In 1480 the Inquisition is established in Castile.
1485-9	99		
1490-4	45	...	In 1492 the Jews are expelled from Spain.
1495-9	24	...	In 1497 they are expelled from Portugal.
1500-4	10		
1505-9	15	...	Massacre at Lisbon of 4,000 new Christians.
1510-4	7	...	In 1512 Ferdinand conquers Navarre.
1515-9	...	...	In 1516 Charles V becomes king.
1520-4	2	...	In 1524 Mohammedans destroy Cranganore and banish the Jews.
1525-9	6	...	David Reubeni visits the Pope.
1530-4	5	1	
1535-9	7	2	In 1536 the Inquisition is established in Portugal.
1540-4	1	11	
1545-9	2	2	
1550-4	6	3	In 1550 Philip marries Mary of England.
1555-9	17	2	Philip II reigns.
1560-4	18	10	Persecution of Lutherans begins in Spain.
1565-9	13	18	1567-70 Moors rebel.
1570-4	8	14	
1575-9	13	11	
1580-4	6	12	In 1580 Portugal is united to Spain.
1585-9	6	14	In 1588 Spanish Armada defeated.
1590-4	14	13	
1595-9	9	19	Between 1598 and 1610 nearly a million Moors are banished from Spain. In 1598 Philip III succeeds and reigns till 1621.
1600-4	5	14	
1605-9	4	17	
1610-4	8	8	In 1612 Franco-Spanish marriages induce Spain to propose treaty for the extradition of heretics.
1615-9	3	17	
1620-4	8	25	In 1624 Jewish community founded in Brazil, by Jews of Holland.
1625-9	10	21	
1630-4	8	17	
1635-9	2	27	
1640-4	10	20	In 1640 Portugal rebelled and John Duke of Braganza became its king.
1645-9	9	14	In 1648 Spain recognized the independence of the Netherlands.
1650-4	19	27	
1655-9	24	28	
1660-4	21	25	In 1661 Portuguese raise the siege of Cochin and persecute the Jews for helping the Dutch, but in 1661 Dutch capture it and new synagogue is built.

Years.	*No. of Autos in Spain.*	*No. of Autos in Portugal.*	*Events.*
1665-9	15	20	In 1665 the Portuguese defeat the Spanish at Villa Viciosa.
1670-4	8	19	
1675-9	13	7	In 1675 English subjects were removed from Surinam to Jamaica, but the Dutch detained "the Hebrew nation" because "they were too numerous and important," and their departure would be an immediate destruction to the place[1].
1680-4	13	33	
1685-9	14	34	
1690-4	27	26	
1695-9	18	24	
1700-4	24	27	In 1700 Philip V of the House of Bourbon became King of Spain.
1705-9	15	19	
1710-4	8	24	
1715-9	14	32	
1720-4	74	32	
1725-9	39	23	
1730-4	9	35	
1735-9	11	23	
1740-4	9	18	
1745-9	11	25	
1750-4	10	19	
1755-9	14	21	In 1758 the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal by Joseph I. In 1759 Charles III succeeds and a revival of trade occurs in Spain.
1760-4	2	12	
1765-9	6	22	
1770-4	1	2	
1775-9	9	1	
1780-4	5	2	
1785-9	1	...	In 1788 Charles IV became King of Spain.
1790-4	4	1	
1795-9	3		
1800-4	1		
1805-9	1	...	In 1808 Ferdinand VII became King of Spain.
1810-4			
1815-9	2		
1820-6	2		
	883	893	

[1] *Cal. State Papers* (Colonial), America and W. Indies, 1675-6, p. 258 *et passim*. As to Jamaica vide ibid., 1689-92.

XLIX.

Dr. Lea's Criticisms.

When[1] the writer was in Philadephia, he had the good fortune to discuss these papers with Dr. Henry C. Lea, the historian of the Inquisition. Dr. Lea drew his attention to a Portuguese book[2] published in Lisbon, 1845, which contains considerable, though not complete, particulars of the Portuguese autos da fé and their victims. He was also good enough to supplement and in some respect modify the account given in Chapter VII as to the Second Expulsion from Portugal. While recognizing that Philip the Fourth's decision to exile all Judaizers led to a great influx of Marannos into Western Europe about the year 1631, Dr. Lea thinks that its primary effect was to send Portuguese Jews into Castile on their way to France. The

[1] June, 1903.

[2] *Historia da Inquisição em Portugal: historia dos principaes actos e procedimentos da Inquisição em Portugal.* Lisboa, J. B. Morando, 1845.

The anonymous author of this book (Moreira?) quotes the following authorities:—

(*a*) Alvará com força de lei do 1º de Setembro de 1774; regimento do Sancto Officio da Inquisição; provizão do Cardeal da Cunha; introducção do Editor. Coimbra, 1821.

(*b*) Noticias reconditas do modo de procedor á Inquisicão do Portugal com os seus prezos. Villa Franca, 1722.

Dr. Lea presented me with a copy of this book, which he says was written by Antonio Vieira, the missionary of Brazil.

(*c*) Narrativa da perseguição do Hyppolito José da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendoça. Londres, 1811.

(*d*) Historia completa das Inquisicões de Italia, Hespanha, e Portugal. Lisboa, 1821.

(*e*) Representação das Cortes e invectiva contra a Inquisição pelo Inquisidor Francisco Freire de Mello. Lisboa, 1821.

This is apparently a "Separat-Abdruck" from the *Historia de Portugal* cited by Sr. de Bethencourt, *J. Q. R.*, XV, 530.

Castilian Inquisition refused to assume jurisdiction over such Portuguese delinquents, and left them in peace rather than poach on the preserves of a fellow tribunal. And this fact, coupled with the temporary but never vain expedient of bribery, led to the exile decree remaining to some extent a dead letter. In 1606 Philip III accepted a bribe of 1,800,000 cruzados from the Jews as the price of their temporary freedom from molestation. Autos de fé, actually in progress at Seville and at Lisbon on Nov. 19, 1606, were stopped on arrival of the news of the king's acceptance and consequent clemency. But three of the Council of the Portuguese Inquisition had to be paid at the same time 40,000 ducats, 30,000 and 30,000! A reference to this huge "servizio" occurs in a Memorandum of Don Pedro de Figuera, dated Sept. 27, 1630, which is among the writer's documents referred to, supra, page 37.

Dr. Lea has an immense quantity of manuscript and printed material relating to the Inquisition, and his library is, both architecturally and for its contents, one of the show places of Philadelphia. Among its treasures is a MS. "Memoria de diversos autos de la Inquisicion de Saragossa," giving particulars of the autos de fé of that tribunal since the beginning of the new inquisition until 1596. There are also several bundles of papers dealing with the Barcelona Inquisition in the possession of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. These were rescued from the streets of Barcelona by the American consul during the inquisition riot of 1812. Both of these sources have enabled our lists of Spanish autos to be enlarged to the number of 883.

Our Portuguese autos are extended by the preceding tables to no less a number than 893. Of these 270 occurred in Lisbon, 268 in the University City of Coimbra[1], 210 in

[1] A facsimile is given of the title-page to a sermon delivered on the occasion of an auto de fé celebrated at Coimbra in 1619, during the critical period. The publication of this, as well as many other similar sermons, several of which are in the writer's possession, testifies to the interest taken by the Portuguese public in such religious festivities.

SERMAM

QVE O PADRE FREI MANOEL EVANGELISTA

MENOR FILHO DO SERAPHICO Padre S. Frácisco da Sãcta Prouincia do Algarue Lector iubilado, qualificador do S. Officio fez em o auto da Fé, que se celebrou em a Cidade de Coimbra dia de S. Bento vinte, & hũ de Março de 1619. annos.

CONIMBRICAE.

Cum facultate Inquisitorum, & Ordinarij.

Apud Nicolaum Carualho Typographum vniuersitatis.

TITLE-PAGE OF SERMON PREACHED AT COIMBRA ON THE OCCASION OF THE AUTO-DA-FÉ OF 21 MARCH, 1619.

Evora, and 145 in Goa, &c. The anonymous author of the *Historia da Inquisicão* evidently had access to the official records although his list of autos is incomplete. He gives the number of victims at 760 autos as 31,349, of whom 1175 were burnt in person[1], 638 burnt in effigy, and 29,536 otherwise "penitenced." This gives an average of over forty-one victims per auto, of whom rather less than two were executed in person and one in effigy at each each celebration. The preceding lists further record 148 American Autos, viz. 58 Mexican, 36 at Lima and 54 at Cartagena de las Indias—a grand total for the Iberian Peninsula and its colonies of no less than 1924 autos!

[1] These were not necessarily burnt alive. The Inquisition, with a refinement of mercy tempered by shrewdness, allowed such of the condemned as recanted after sentence to be garrotted before their bodies were burnt, and perhaps five in six availed themselves of this privilege.

L.

Two Jewish Documents.

By way of contrast, two Jewish documents of widely different date may be here quoted, as bearing upon our subject. The one is an excerpt from a Jewish history of 1553, being the "Chronicles of R. Joseph b. Joshua b. Meir, the Sphardi,' who says of the Marannos:—"And also unto them that changed their glory for an unprofitable one, in the days of the priest Fra Vincenzo Sadi this Isabella was a Satan in those days. And she set searchers and spies over them to see if they walked in the law of their messiah or not. And they burned by hundreds of them for no cause, and all that they had they plundered daily. And thus they began to flee, and to go into Turkey to serve the Lord our God as at this day . . . .

"In Portugal also the destructions (baptisms) increased daily. . . . And Jews took their sons and their daughters, and sent them unto the isles of the sea wherein no one dwelled. . . . And many Jews went out from Portugal, and went unto the east country to serve the Lord our God as at the first: and they have dwelled there until this day. And many were left there halting between two opinions; they feared the Lord, yet sware by the image of the uncircumcised and went daily unto their churches. And they have increased and become mighty in riches until this day. And from that day and afterward there was not a man left in all the kingdoms of Sphard who was called by the name of Israel. But the king of Navarre did not expel them from his country, and many of the Jews of Arragon went thither to dwell. And the king of Arragon allowed them to pass, and they came in ships unto Provence, and dwelled in Avignon[1]."

The second quotation is the copy of a London appeal of

[1] Bialboblotzky's Translation, London, 1835, I, 324 and seqq.

1902, pointing to the inauguration of a brighter epoch for Jews in Portugal.

"Four hundred years have elapsed since the last Jews were driven out of Spain and Portugal. From time to time attempts have been made to gain a foothold there, and especially in Portugal. In the course of the nineteenth century a small Jewish community collected in Lisbon, but they were merely tolerated. Divine service was held in two rooms hardly fitted for such a purpose. The desire to build a Synagogue was growing all the while, but every effort to be recognized as a Community by the authorities had proved ineffectual. A plot of ground was purchased for the purpose of a Synagogue, but could not be registered in the name of the congregation. About a year ago, however, the Lisbon Jews, some of whom are descendants of old families who had once been forced to emigrate, were at last able to obtain the necessary sanction, and on May 25, 1902, the foundation stone was laid of the first Jewish Synagogue in that very place whence fanaticism had driven the Jews away.

"As an historical event of no mean importance, and as an instance of poetic justice, this resettlement must appeal in the first instance to all those who are of Spanish or Portuguese origin, and to them primarily the Lisbon Jews address an invitation to contribute towards the consummation of this building. The local community has contributed liberally to the expenses of the new Synagogue, but there is a deficit of about £2,000 with which they are unable to cope. It is hoped that the balance required will come from sympathizers outside Portugal, for it is confidently anticipated that this appeal will find many and willing supporters, and that many, even of those who are not Sephardim by origin, will be anxious to join in this rare and exceedingly gratifying event, and to build again a house of worship to the God of Israel, who has led the Jews, after many years of tribulation, back to the country where Jewish art and science had flourished for upwards of one thousand years, and where the most glorious page of Jewish history has been written."

LI.

The Story of José Diaz Pimienta[1].

(From the Spanish of J. M. M. de Espinosa.)

Fray José Diaz Pimienta was born in the island of Havana. His father was a Spaniard, and his mother a Creole. Both were nobles and "Cristianos viejos," that is to say, there was no admixture of Jewish blood in their veins. At the age of ten years he is said to have attempted suicide by taking poison. At fifteen he was a novice at a convent in the island of Cartagena, where he seems to have displayed artistic rather than religious tastes, so much so that, hearing that the Spanish Vicar-General was about to visit Cartagena, he fled to the island of Curaçao, in "Holland where the heretics and Jews live," and joined them. Denying the faith of Jesus Christ, he became an apostate and heretic, and followed the law of Moses, which he held in great love. He had himself circumcised with all due rites and ceremonies, and took as his name Abraham Diaz Pimienta, and then afterwards he married a Jewess. The Spanish account says that he became a pirate, and on one occasion received a wound with a cutlass. On his recovery he was appointed by the Jews schoolmaster to teach the law of Moses to their sons. He spent some time in this employment, but was ultimately apprehended in the street, where they slit his nose with a knife without otherwise injuring him. Handed over to the Inquisition of Cartagena, he confessed his crimes and begged for mercy. Eventually he had to march out in procession as a penitent wearing the *sambenito* in the public Auto

[1] *Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Trans. IX (1901), containing a somewhat similar account of Pimienta from an MS. Relacion of the Seville Auto of July 25, 1720.

de Fé held in the convent of San Domingo in Cartagena, and was condemned to be exiled from America, and taken to Spain, where he was to remain a recluse in a convent of his Order for the rest of his life. He was placed on a ship of the Miñona (with the protocol of his case), and guarded with other prisoners, but he endured the voyage so impatiently, and his imprecations and blasphemies were such, that the sailors determined to throw him into the sea if they had to suffer any more trouble with him. As soon as the boat arrived at Cadiz, the captain handed over the prisoner to the Bishop and to the Commissary of the city. They put him in the ecclesiastical prison, and there he remained for three months. He begged the Commissary to remove his chains and alleviate his imprisonment, but when he saw that this was refused he broke the outer wall of the prison and escaped with another prisoner, leaving a paper writing to say that he escaped because of the ill-treatment he had received, and that if any one was sick of his life he might go and look out for him. He made for the city of Jerez, and betook himself to his convent, where he was held for some days and treated without harshness, being permitted to go to the choir and to confess every four days, but not to administer the sacrament, as he had no licence from the Tribunal to do this. But notwithstanding this liberty he took every opportunity to speak badly of the said Tribunal, saying that they were more cruel than pirates. He took advantage of his cunning and sagacity to write a letter to a rich Jew of the city of Jerez, telling him his troubles, and begging him to come to the convent to see him, as he wished to talk with him; and, in order that there might be no doubt that he was a Jew, he wrote down some words which the Jews of Curaçao spoke during the ceremony of circumcision. The Jew was much vexed to receive the letter, and said that he did not understand Latin, and that he was unable to come to the convent. So he wrote a second letter to another Jew of Jerez, saying how that he

was a Jew and wished to speak to him in the convent, where he expected him, and, in order to be recognized without asking questions, he was to wear a green ribbon on his left wrist, adding that the said Jew would recognize him by his slit nose. There was no answer to this letter, nor did the Jew go to see him, and so he wrote a third time to a Jew of the city of Cadiz, begging of him twenty-five doubloons; but his letters remained unanswered. All of which the said Fray José confessed he had done in order to trick the Jews, for he was not converted in his heart, but had only pretended conversion in order to get money to go back to Curaçao, and to avenge himself, and kill all the Jews who had circumcised him and were the cause of his destruction. For this purpose he wrote a letter to the King, and another to the Duke of Verugoas, seeking to obtain permission from his Majesty to go to conquer the island of Curaçao, offering to pay for the permission 6,000 dollars. But when he saw his hopes frustrated he wrote commentaries on chapters li and lii of Isaiah, giving the explanations thereto given by the Jews. He wrote this for transmission to the Jew of Jerez, begging him to give the signal of the ribbon, but could not send it off because he had no safe messenger, and judging that he was punished by God, and that no Jew would help him after he had given up the law of Moses, he wrote a letter to the Commissary of Jerez to the following effect:—

Though for a time I held it my highest happiness to have deserted the law of Moses for that of Jesus Christ, now I hold it for my highest happiness to have arrived at the knowledge that the law of Moses is the most certain and sure. I would live and die therein, and would give a thousand lives for it in cruel martyrdom, and now sign myself Abraham Diaz Pimienta.

And the postscript added: *Although I must die by burning and am near thereto, I am surprised that they*

have not yet taken me to the Tribunal of the Inquisition, in order that I may gain a thousand lives in its fire.

This letter he sent to the Commissary of Jerez, but on the same day took flight and escaped from the convent by the garden. When he arrived at that city he freighted a ship for Cadiz, and when he reached Puebla de Coria he found an English boat and asked the captain to take him to London, and related to him all his troubles. But the captain excused himself and said that if he took Pimienta he would lose his ship, his fortune, and his life, but Pimienta could easily follow on to Lisbon. He obeyed this advice, and by way of Seville proceeded to Lisbon, where he found an English ship laid up three days for repairs, and asked the captain to take him to Amsterdam or Jamaica. The captain refused, as he was a Spaniard, but suggested that he could go to Jamaica in a Dutch ship which was there. When all was ready he went on shore one day, and recognizing the evil of his ways refused to re-embark, but changed his clothes in a wood and went to the city of Seville. The same day he presented himself at the College of S. Laureano, which was of his Order, and confessed his sins to the Father Rector, asking to be handed over to the Inquisition, and craved forgiveness.

Two days he stayed in the City College, whence he was taken to the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, a great building of that city, and afterwards brought to the Inquisition.

He was charged with being a heretic, apostate, and Jew, but was defended by his advocate with great sagacity and vivacity, saying that his conversion was true and that he had written the letters with the intention of extracting money from the Jews and avenging himself on them for his circumcision; and that the letter to the Commissary was with the intention of flight, in order that if they should catch him they should not place him in the convent and that the Jews should favour him, substantiating these arguments by the fact that when he had reached Cadiz he

could have gone to Gibraltar and thence to wherever he pleased, but instead thereof he presented himself at the convent of Jerez. So also he could have betaken himself at Lisbon to the Dutch ship, but did not do so, but on the contrary came to Seville and presented himself at S. Laureano, but did not go direct to the Tribunal because he was indecently clad, as he wanted both frock and "cerquillo." By these and other arguments he defended himself against the Fiscal's charges, and sought to prove that his conversion was genuine.

The Tribunal placed him in strict confinement, where he remained some time, but this was afterwards relaxed. One night the Alcaide entering his cell to put a light in the pumpkin, he became greatly excited and begged and prayed, saying, "Let the Tribunal understand that it is no good forcing me; they are making a mistake. I will not obey, for that I am a Jew and mean to live and die in the law of Moses," quoting as his authority the Apostle St. Paul in Gal. v, "Every man that receiveth circumcision is a debtor to do the whole law." On the following day he was taken to the hearing of his case, and when asked whether he wished to alter or change his pleas, he answered "Yes," stating that all his life he had been an enemy of deceit, but what he had said was false, and the truth was that he was a Jew in his heart and regarded the law of Moses as the true and sure path to salvation, and not that of Jesus Christ, and that he wished to be burned and to give his life for it a thousand times, that he knew well that theologians would come and argue with him, but that none would be able to convince him. When he was asked what he thought of the mystery of the Most Sacred Trinity, he replied that he had always believed in one God only, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, according to chapter xxxii of Deuteronomy; and when he was asked what he thought of the maternity and purity of the Most Holy Mary, he replied that she never had existed, inasmuch as the Messiah could have neither father nor

mother, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, "Who shall tell his birth?" and that he knew not what to say; and when he was asked what he thought of the person of Jesus Christ, he replied that he was not the promised Messiah, for whom he was still waiting, and that Jesus was only a son of God in the same way as are all men, though he had always regarded him as a holy and lofty counsellor; and that as for the observance of the law of Moses which he kept, he had in prison observed the fasts from sunset to sunset, and recited the Psalms of Degrees, the *Benedicite* and *Cantemus domino gloriose,* all without the *Gloria Patri,* that he had always covered his head with a cap and would show courtesy to no judge while thus charged with religious crime. Then he was taken to the Fiscal, who asked him to appoint an advocate to defend him, and he replied that it was not necessary, for he had no advocate but God. His advocate being unable to defend him because of his obstinacy, warned him that he would be burnt without fail. He replied that this was what he wished, he would give his life for the law of Moses, and thereby assure his salvation. The hearing was three times adjourned, then he confessed and ratified all that he had said. He said that he could not help but be a Jew for the sake of the Holy God of Israel, and that the sooner they burnt him, the sooner he would die for his faith. The Court found him an impenitent, and ended the case by pronouncing him an "escomulgado," a heretic, an apostate Jew, a Judaizer fallen from the faith and impenitent. The proceedings and his statement and confession were read over, and he was asked to sign the same, but he replied that he could not sign that day as it was the Sabbath, a holy day among the Jews, and that another should sign it. When the Tribunal saw that the prisoner was incorrigible, it adjudged that he should be publicly degraded from all his Orders and should be handed over to the Secular Arm in order to be burnt alive, and before his execution it ordered that, for the space of three months, men of great

learning and recognized virtue of the city should preach to him and convert him.

It were useless to describe how these theologians, critics, and men of singular virtue laboured to convert him because of the scandal which he had given to his religion and the Church, inasmuch as he was a priest. He maintained that one could find salvation as well in the law of Moses as in that of Jesus Christ, but was ultimately corrected of this error and convinced that only in Jesus Christ and not otherwise could he find salvation.

On the eve of the Auto de Fé he lay down a little after dinner, and when he rose he said, "Is there no remedy; must I burn alive?" They sent for the Master of the Capuchin novices, whom he did not know and had never seen, for the P. Rector of S. Laureano, and for the P. Regent of San Tomas. To them he made confession and appealed for clemency. On the following day, the 25th of July, 1720, at dawn he was absolved from excommunication and communicated with much unction. At six in the morning, with five other prisoners, he left the Court, carrying a crucifix in his hands and dressed as a "Mercenario," with two priests supporting him. Holy men of all Orders, and especially his own, accompanied him. The crowd was very great. He reached the convent of St. Paul, where the Auto was to take place, mounted the platform without the least fear, and holding the crucifix in his hands he said in a loud voice these solemn words. "*The errors of my youth caused me to follow the law of Moses, by aid of which I explained sundry texts of Scripture. For this reason I am thus disgraced, but by the grace of God I am now convinced, and the wounds of our Lord have converted me,*" whereon he kissed the feet of the crucifix and wept. "*Would that I were in the land of the Moors or in Mequinez, to give my life for the Catholic faith.*" He said no more, sentence was pronounced, and accompanied by the judges he went from the convent of St. Paul to the Plaza de San Francisco, where a sumptuous theatre and magnificent

throne had been erected. Here sat José de Esquibel, Bishop of Licopoli, of the Order of San Domingo, in his pontifical robes, and many clergy of all Orders, and all the nobles of Seville. The prisoner mounted the platform, and in the presence of that huge crowd clothed himself with all his sacred vestments, from the amice to the chasuble and chalice. Then he knelt down and the ceremony of degradation began. The Bishop divested him of his sacred garments, and appeared much moved, and could not restrain his tears. When his religious garb had been quitted, P. M. Mendoza, critic of the Holy Office, also of his Order, handed him over to the Secular Arm, begging on the part of the Inquisition that they should treat the prisoner with pity. They took him to another majestic theatre, where beneath a canopy stood the Lieutenant Mayor, don Alonso de los Rios, who having regard to the circumstances condemned him to be garrotted and then burnt.

A learned and Christian statement was read and listened to by the prisoner, who without making any disturbance signed the same with his hand, after which, because of the great heat, the garrotting was postponed till six in the evening. He was taken to the Royal Prison and entered the chapel, where he ate with good appetite and lay down awhile. Between five and six they roused him to go to the "Quemadero," and on the road he showed his true repentance. He reached the place of punishment and was then embraced tenderly by all the priests who accompanied him. In a loud voice he begged pardon of all for the bad example which he had given, and especially of his Order for that he had disgraced his sacred garb, and loudly declared and confessed to all the public that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, which was the true one, and that he believed and confessed all that Mother Church believed and confessed, and that he died therein, and he besought all to follow the Church and never betray her. He himself having fallen away from the faith for a time had, through his youthful vices, come to that situation, and he begged that

they might now burn him alive and treat him with no compassion, for that his crimes required the greatest punishment. Finally the sentence was executed, and he died with a great show of repentance. Then they placed a coroza[1] on him and a gown of "llamas," and his body was burned to ashes.

This was one of the greatest days ever seen in the city of Seville, not only because of the great crowd which was twelve leagues in circumference, but because such a case had never been seen before. The whole city and nobility of Seville assisted, and in their Christian piety ordered an infinite number of masses to be said for his soul, and all the religious Orders, nuns as well as monks, kept great days of penitence, fasting, and discipline. The prisoner was 32 years of age when he died.

[1] A coronet of strong paper worn as a mark of infamy.

LII.

Some Authorities.

Manuscript Authorities.

Autograph grant, by Ferdinand and Isabella, dated Cordova, Aug. 31, 1485, to the Real Monasterio de S^{n} Geronymo, of one-third of the garden confiscated from Alphon de Baena of Cordova, "condenado á pena de fuego por el delito de la heretica pravedad." Signed, "Yo el Rey. Yo la Reyna." And sealed with the seal of "Fernandus et Helisabet." Vide Facsimile.

Juan Alfoñ de Baena (circa 1450), a New Christian, born at Baena, Cordova, was a poet and anthologist, under Juan II, king of Castile. Vide De Castro, 265–345. Baena quotes seventy-one "Trobadores Españoles," including Francisco de Baena. And vide Jacobs.

Autograph grant, by Ferdinand and Isabella, dated Tortosa, March 24, 1496, to the Real Monasterio de S^{n} Geronymo, of one-third of the garden confiscated from Fernando de Molina for the crime of heresy, the other two-thirds being already in possession of the monastery. Signed, "Yo el rey." "Yo la reyna."

Proceso de Juan Garcia que por otro nombre se llama Juan de Alvarado, natural de Mexico. Por Hereje y apostata. 1606.

Hidalguia. Informacion de Limpieza de Sangre of Juan Ortiz Moreno, Alcalde de la Villa de Vinaria.

A Familiar of the Inquisition proves that his ancestors are "Xrtianos viejos limpios sin traza ninguna de Moros, Judios," &c.

Orden y Forma de actuar los Comisarios y Notarios del Sancto Officio de la Inquisicion en informaciones que hacen de limpieza de sangre para ministros suyos. 1696.

Belonged to S^{r} D^{n} Martin de Carrascal, Secretario de la Sancta Inquisicion de Sevilla.

Printed Authorities.

Archivo Historico-Nacional, Museo Archaeologico, Madrid, and its publication of that name, here cited as "Archivo."

(Sala VIII is full of the Inquisition Records of Toledo, Valencia, Rioja and Logrono.) See especially a bundle docketed "Indices de varios procesados por dicho delito Judaizantes, 1622–1725"

Lists are now being published in the Museo's Official Journal. They are valuable additions to our knowledge of the Marranos. 222 pages have appeared. The Catalogue of "Judaizantes" begins at page 158 and is still incomplete.

Anales de la Inquisicion: 200 adornos grabados y 32 litografias. Madrid, 1841.

Almosnino. Extremos y Grandezas de Constantinopla. Compuesto por Rabi Moysen Almosnino Hebreo. Traducido por Jacob Cansino, Madrid, Martinez, 1638.

Many references to Jews. Steinschneider suggests that this book was not translated from the Hebrew, but transliterated from Ladino (St. 1771). Almosnino died in Salonica about 1580.

Apuntamientos para la historia del rey D. Felipe II con Isabel de Inglaterra, 1558–1576, por D. Tomas Gonzales (? Madrid, 1850).

Auto de Fé; Auto general de Fé; Auto particular de Fé.

Every Auto de Fé, or Act of Faith, was conducted with supreme formality. Lists and Relacions were published in almost every case, soon after the autos, and apparently eagerly purchased. Generally they were printed in the place where the Act of Faith had been consummated. Most of the "Relacions" of the autos which occurred 1720–1725 were printed at Madrid, and Seville also, and perhaps elsewhere, by the printers to the respective Inquisitions. Such "Relacion" was frequently ordered to be sent to the Inquisitor General, and various Tribunals, so as to provide a check on persons reconciled and suspected of a tendency to relapse.

I. J. Serrete, the Madrid printer in 1720, appears to have bound up collections of Relacions in pigskin covers, and copies of such collections are in the British Museum[1], Bodleian and Berlin Libraries, and one is in the possession of Mr. Palamares of Seville. Here they are cited as "Rel. B. M.," "Rel. Bodl.," "Rel. K. K.," and "Rel. Pal.," respectively. I have also a copy formerly in the possession of a prime minister of Spain.

For many years, however, the Holy Office shrank from publicity, and forbade others, and even historians, from giving details, "sin duda temerosos de alguna excomunion mayor" (*Jud. Sev.* 56). Hence the difficulty of ascertaining particulars about the numerous autos which took place, and the rarity nowadays, even in Spain, of these printed "Relacions." With the exception of the collections referred to, London, Berlin, and Oxford have hardly twenty such Relacions altogether.

Vide Listas, Relacion, Matute, Olmo, Posadilla.

[1] The British Museum bought its copy within the last decade of a bookseller in the Hague. It is in two volumes and comprises the accounts of ninety Spanish and Portuguese autos.

Auto General de la Fée .... celebrado .. en .. Mexico, a los 19 de Noviembre de 1659 años. Mexico, 1659.

Auto General de la Fée ... celebrado en Cordoba .. Lunes 29 Junio. Cordova, 1665, Andres Carrillo de Pantagua.

Beschryving van Spanien en Portugal. Leyden, Pieter van der Aa, 1707.

A magnificent folio of 400 pages with numerous fine engravings and maps, and an elaborate index. V. 23-37 deals with the Inquisition (5 plates).

Bibliographie des Martyrologes Protestants Néerlandais. I. Monographies; II. Recueils. Hague, Nyhoff, 1890.

Bleda. Defensio fidei in causa ... Morischorum.

Boaventura, Fr. Fortunato de S.

The *Memorias da Academia real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, IX, 29, 1825, contain an article by Boaventura, entitled "Memoria sobre o começo progresso & decadencia da Litteratura Hebraica entre os Portuguezes Catholicos Romanos desde a fundaçao deste Reino até ao reinado d'El Rei D. Jose I."

Sr Alberto Carlos da Silva, sub-librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon, drew my attention to this work. Mr. Silva is himself a "nuevo cristiano," and a great authority on Spanish and Portuguese Judaica, and, by the way, a keen critic of Dr. Kayserling.

Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

The Transactions of the Royal Historical Academy at Madrid are indispensable to the student of the Spanish Jews. Vide Vols. XVI, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXXVI, and seqq. Father Fidel Fita and other authorities on Spanish Jewry are constant contributors.

Cappa, R. La Inquisicion Española, editor D. Gregorio del Amo. 8vo, pp. 299, Madrid (Antonio Perez Dubrull), 1888.

A vehement defence of the Inquisition by a Jesuit father, who regards the Jews as a "plaga nacional" of Spain, Drumont as an authority, the Blood accusation as well founded, the case of Rafael Levy in 1620 as evidence, Llorente as only famous for his exquisite impudence and erute cynicism, and Queen Elizabeth's persecution of Southwell as justification for "un tribunal tan poco conocido como ligeramente juzgado y condenado."

Castillo, Joaquin del. El Tribunal de la Inquisicion llamado de la Fe o del Santo Oficio. (Dos laminas.) Barcelona, 1835.

Castro, Joseph Rodriguez de. Biblioteca Española, vol. i. Los Escritores Rabinos Españoles (666 pp., fol., and preface and indexes). Madrid, Gazeta, 1781.

Castro, A. de. History of the Jews in Spain. Cadiz, 1847.
Translated into English by E. D. G. M. Kirwan, Cambridge, 1851.

Catalogue de Vente de feu M. D. Henriques de Castro. Amsterdam, May 1899.
The owner was descended from a family famous in Spain in the twelfth century. His collection was full of Spanish Judaica.

Conde, J. A. Descripcion de España de Xerif Aledris (Edrisi). Arabic and Spanish. Madrid, 1799.
Many Hebrew geographical references.

Corpus documentorum Inquisitionis her. prov. Neerlandicae. Dr. Paul Fredericq, Gent, 1889.

Discurso Historico-Legal sobre el origen &c. del S. O. de la Inquisicion de España. Valladolid, 1802.

Discusion del Proyecto del Decreto sobre el Tribunal de la Inquisicion. Cadiz, 1813, en la Imprenta Nacional.

Espinosa. Vide "Relacion Histórica de la Juderia de Sevilla"; Espinosa, Historia de Gabriel de.

Espinosa, Historia de Gabriel de. Pastelero en Madrigal que fingió ser el Rey don Sebastian de Portugal . . en 1595. Madrid, 1785.
A curious history of a royal impostor with a great name, though, by profession, pastrycook in Madrid.
Cardinal Diego de Espinosa was Inquisitor General from 1567 to 1572, and during his five years of office the Inquisition claimed, it is estimated, 4,680 victims, of whom 360 were burnt in effigy and 720 burnt alive.

El gran Piscator de Salamanca. Para este año de MDCCXLIII, Seville, Lopez de Haro, 1743.
An Almanac with a reference on p. 13 to *marranos* and containing in 14 pp. a printer's list of contemporary books "y otros libros curiosos, y todo surtimiento de Romances, Relaciones, Historias, Comedias, y Estampas, por mayor y por menor."
One of these is:—"Centinela contra Judios, 1 tomo en octavo."

Fama Postuma a la vida y muerte del Doctor Frey, Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, escritos por los mas esclarecidos ingenios solicitados por el Doctor Juan Perez de Montalvan. Madrid, 1636.
Among the authors who contribute to this elegiac miscellany there are several Marranos, e. g. Luis de Belmonte, Fernando Bermudez Carvajal, and others.

Féréal, De. Misterios de la Inquisición, y otras sociedades secretas de España. Translated into Spanish by D. Lucas Boado Brandaris. Buenos Aires, Bietti, 1890.

A publication of the Biblioteca Argentina, with some highly coloured pictures portraying the horrors of the Inquisition.

Fergusson. Trial of Gabriel de Granada, *American Jewish Historical Society Transactions*, VIII.

This is a volume dedicated to a single trial. There were over 300,000 such, and about 750 autos de fé, between 1480 and 1812. Mr. Fergusson deserves well of the Jewish historian, for he has collected a unique mass of Mexican inquisition records, and places them unreservedly at the disposal of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Geddes, M. Miscellaneous Tracts, by Dr. Michael Geddes. London, 1702 and 1714. "A Spanish Protestant Martyrology."

Both editions are in the Berlin Königliche Bibliothek. Vide also Kohut. In the second edition there is an interesting account of the author's attempted conversion of a New Christian recently escaped to London from the Spanish Inquisition, who, however, declared that, for him, the only hope of salvation lay in Judaism.

Graetz. Geschichte der Juden (passim).

Historia de la Inquisicion en Canarias. 1874.

Frequently cited by Rodrigo.

Instruccion por Causas de Fé. (For the use of the Inquisitors.) 8vo, pp. 32, Seville.

Jacobs, Joseph. Sources of Spanish Jewish History. London, Macmillan, 1894. (Here cited as "Jacobs.")

A veritable *tour de force*, but confessedly limited to manuscript matter, and hardly touching the Marranos, a history of whom is, he says, "one of the great desiderata of Jewish literature."

The documents of 1,200 cases he describes as at Alcala de Henares have apparently been removed to the Museo Archaeologico at Madrid, where I saw them in November, 1900. Use of the material there would enable my lists of autos to be greatly extended. Vide Archivo.

Kayserling, M.

(1) Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica. Strasbourg, Trubner, 1890.

(2) Ein Feiertag in Madrid. Berlin, Springer, 1859. Vide sub Olmo.

Kohut. Jewish Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America.

(1) American Jewish Historical Society, Transactions, IV, 171.

(2) Reprint. Baltimore, Friedenwald, 1895.

Dr. Kohut's clever little paper would have been more complete if he had made use of Medina's various histories of the South American Inquisitions. In one passage he commits a strange blunder, due to

too keen a sense of antisemitism. At an auto, he says, there were "four others punished for various offences (bigamy). It is probable that these were Jews or Marranos"!! Bigamy was an ecclesiastical crime within the purview of the Holy Office, and "Casados dos vezes" are punished at very many autos de fé.

Lea, H. C. History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages. 1888, 3 vols. Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition. Philadelphia, 1890.

Histoire de l'Inquisition au moyen âge. Traduit par Salomon Reinach. Paris, 1900.

Lea is *the* historian of the Inquisition *par excellence*. He is described by a German authority as a merchant in Philadelphia who has become Doctor *honoris causâ* and Member of the Academy at Munich as "Palaeograph, Diplomatiker, Kanonist und Kirchenhistoriker."

Listas dos Autos de Fé ... em (1) Lisboa, (2) Evora, (3) Coimbra.

The Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon possesses three stout volumes containing a collection of Lists, Programmes, and Relations of the various autos celebrated by the three Portuguese Tribunals of the Inquisition at Lisbon, Evora, and Coimbra.

Many of the pieces are in manuscript, but most are printed. With their aid a fairly complete list of Portuguese autos could be completed. Vide Auto de Fé. I have a few such lists both MS. and printed.

Three similar volumes are said to be in the Evora Library.

Llorente, J. A.

(1) Memoria Historica ... opinion nacional de España acerca del Tribunal de la Inquisicion. Madrid, 1812.

(2) Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de España. 10 vols., 12mo. Barcelona, 1836.

Do., do., vol. V.

Llorente is recognized as the authority on the subject by Lea and all the modern historians of the Holy Office. He lived in the midst of the excitement culminating in the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812, and the first suppression of the Inquisition. His vehemence is undoubted, but his facts have never been seriously impugned.

Manrique, Cayetano. Apuntes para la vida de Felipe II y para la historia del Santo Oficio en España. Madrid, 1868.

Marchena, J. Manual de Inquisidores (traducida del Frances). Mompeller, 1821.

Martínez, Emilio. Recuerdos de Antaño. Valparaiso, 1898.

A story of the Inquisition founded, more or less, on Prescott's History of Philip II. The author appears to be a Chilian Protestant.

Matute. Coleccion de Autos de Fé celebrados en Córdoba. Cordoba, Canalejas, 1836 and 1839.

Anotados por G. Matute i Luquin. (Here cited as "Col. Cord.")

Medina, J. T.

(1) Historia de la Inquisicion de Lima. 2 vols. 1887.
(2) „ „ „ en Chile. 2 vols. 1890.
(3) „ „ „ del Plata. 1 vol. 1900.
(4) „ „ „ de Cartagena. 1 vol. 1899. de las Indias.
(5) „ „ „ en las Islas Filipinas. 1 vol. 1899.

(All printed in Santiago de Chili.)

These books are invaluable for the historian of Spanish America. The author is an indefatigable and accurate author. These are but a few of his works.

His books on Lima and Cartagena contain lists of some hundreds of persons proceeded against by the Holy Office. Among the twelve pages of names in the Peruvian volume I counted eleven Espinosas, among the ten of Cartagena there was one Miguel de Espinosa punished in 1624.

Mocatta, F. D. The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition. London, Longmans, 1877.

Montan, R. G. De Heylighe Spaensche inquisitie. Translated from the Latin into Dutch by M. Maulumpertus Taphaea. Printed in London by Jan Day, 1569.

A black-letter book excessively rare, like the other Flemish books printed in London at this time. It is full of references to Protestant martyrdoms in Spain, including that of a God-fearing Englishman "Nicholas Burton."

Olmo, Joseph del.

(1) Relacion Historica de Auto General de Fee que se celebró en Madrid este Año de 1680 con assistencia del Rey . . .

Small 4to, with an engraved as well as a letterpress title, with a large folding plate of the scene. Madrid, 1680.

(2) Another edition. 8vo. Madrid, 1820, imprenta de Cano.

(3) Another edition. 12mo. Madrid, 1820, imprenta de Del Collado, pp. 205 + xvi.

(4) Kayserling's "Feiertag in Madrid" is an abstract of this Relacion.

Pereira, Gabriel. Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa. 14 pp., 8vo. Lisbon, Dia, 1898.

S^r^ Pereira is the chief librarian of the collections he describes, and a Nuevo Cristiano.

Posadilla, G. de.

Auto de Fe . . . en la ciudad de Logrõno . . 7 & 8 . . Noviembre . . 1610 . . . por el Bachiller Gines de Posadilla. Cadiz, 1812.

Another edition of the same work. Madrid, Collado, 1820.

Logrõno is in Navarre, near the Pyrenees, and affected by the superstitions of the French mountaineers. Lourdes is not very far away.

Relação exactissima . . . do procedimento das Inquisições de Portugal, presentada ao papa Innocencio XI pelo P. Antonio Vieira da companhia de Jesus. Tirada pela experiencia do que passon na de Coimbra, em tres annos . . ., Veneza Moretin, 1750.

Relacion de las causas mas notables que siguio el Tribunal de la Inquisicion contra . . brujos, hechiceros, &c. Sevilla, 1849.

The collection includes some famous trials of the Jew Bishops of Toledo and Calahorra, and of Antonio Perez, &c.

Relacion de los reos que salieron en el auto (particular general) de Fé que el Santo Oficio celebró en la Iglesia de . . . el (Domingo) . . . de este presente Mes de . . .

This is the usual title of the Relacions containing the official account of an Auto de Fé. It may be assumed that each of the autos specified in the foregoing list had such a Relacion published at the time, and perhaps in several editions. But they are now excessively rare, and fetch fifty to one hundred pesetas each in Spain. Vide Auto de Fé.

Relacion Histórica de la Juderia de Sevilla y Coleccion de los autos que llamaban de fé . . Biblioteca Sevillana. Gomez, Sevilla, 1849.

Por D. J. M. M. de E. (Espinosa).

Another edition. Franco, Sevilla, 1849.

This book is referred to in this article as *Jud. Sev.*

N.B. The librarian of the Biblioteca Columbina at Seville told me that the author was Don José Maria Montero de Espinosa.

Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa. Paris, Daniel Horthemels, 1688.

A Dutch translation of the above entitled "Aanmerkelijk Historisch Verhaal van de Inquisitie der Portugeesen in Goa." Middelburg, Gillis Horthemels, 1688.

Many references to the "Juifs Convertis" or "Cristans Novos." With curious plates of the autó da fé and its victims.

Remedios, R. J. Mendes dos. Os Judeus em Portugal. 8vo, pp. 455. Coimbra, 1895.

An admirable sketch of the Jews in Portugal till their expulsion by Royal Decree of July 15, 1508; perhaps a little doctrinaire, especially as to his anthropological data in the Introduction, which occupies

sixty pages. His Bibliography contains new matter, and is suggestive. It is given here in an abbreviated form.

Rios, José Amador de los. Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los Judios de España. Madrid, 1848.

Rodrigo, F. J. G. Historia Verdadera de la Inquisicion. 3 vols., 8vo. Madrid, Fuentenebro, 1877. (Cited as *Rodrigo.*)

This remarkable modern (!) work in 1,551 pages is an elaborate defence of the Inquisition as justified by "las ofensas contra la moral, y misterios de nuestra santa Religion, cometidos por moros y judíos, y la constante seduccion que todos empleaban para separar de las creencias católicas á hombres depravados ó ignorantes" (II, 125). He constantly attacks Llorente, and twits him with inability to specify autos. He minimizes their horrors, and is complacent when he can say so and so many were burnt in effigy, but only one was actually burnt alive. Still a glance at our list will show that Rodrigo supplies data of autos otherwise unknown. His views are combated and refuted by Ramon Santa Maria in the Boletin XXII and by P. Fidel Fita in XXIII.

Sanz, Manoel. Tratado breve contra la secta Mahometana . . . con otros dos Dialogos . . . contra qualesquiera Sectes de Infieles, y particularmente contra la de los Judios y Hereges. Sevilla, 1693.

Silva. Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez, by I. F. da Silva, Lisboa, 1858, with supplementary volumes the first of which appeared in 1867.

This is an admirable Bibliography of Portuguese books. Under the heading "Autos da Fé" in the first volume of the Supplement he says: "A colleceao completa dos sermones pregados n'estas terriveis solemnidades," i.e. a collection of sermons preached at various Portuguese autos, of which he proceeds to give a list as "specimen do curiosidade." The Dictionary is here cited as "Silva." It is of course full of references to Jews. Among the works quoted by him and dealing with our subject is "Um Auto da Fé" by J. C. Ayres de Campos, an article which appeared in the *Instituto,* vol. XI, 240–6.

Vollmöller. Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie. Vol. IV, Heft 3, p. 180, contains a Bibliography of books and articles on the Inquisition.

LIII.

The Bibliography of J. Mendes dos Remedios.

Aboab (Imanuel). Nomologia o discursos legales. Compuestos por el virtuoso H. H. Imanuel Aboab, D. G. M. Segunda edicion. Coregida y emendeda por Raby, Dr. Ischak Lopes, en Amsterdam, Aº. 5487.

Arrais (Amador). Dialogos. Coimbra, 1589.

Amaral (A. Caetano do). Memorias para a historia da legislação e costumes de Portugal nas "Memorias de litteratura da Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa." t. vi.

—— Id., ib., vii.

Acenheiro (Christovão Rodrigues). Chronicas dos Senhores Reis de Portugal na "Collecção de Ineditos da Historia Portuguêsa publicados pela Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa." t. v. Lisboa, 1824.

Aguirre. Collectio maxima Conciliorum Hispaniae, cura et studio Josephi Saenz de Aguirre, Cardinalis Romae, 1753.

Barros (H. da Gama). História da administração publica em Portugal nos seculos XII a XV. t. Iº. Lisboa, 1885.

Braga (Theophilo). Historia da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas relações com a instrucção publica portugueza. Lisboa, t. 1º, 1892; t. 2º, 1895.

—— O povo português nos seus costumes, crenças e tradicções. 2 voll. Lisboa, 1885.

Barros (João de). Da Asia de João de Barros: dos feitos que os portuguêses fezerão no descobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente. Lisboa, 1626.

Bédarride (I.). Les Juifs en France, en Italie et en Espagne. Paris, 1861. 1 vol.

Brandão (Fr. Francisco). Monarchia Lusitana (quinta e sexta parte) escrita pelo doutor.... Lisboa, 1751. 2 voll.

Brandão (Fr. Antonio). Monarchia Lusitana (terceira e quarta parte) por o doutor.... Lisboa, 1632. 2 voll.

Brandão (Fr. Bernardo). Monarchia Lvzytana (primeira e segunda parte) composta por frey.... Alcobaça, 1597. 2 voll.

Chagas (M. Pinheiro). Diccionario popular, historico, etc. Lisboa, 1876-84. 12 voll.

Corrêa (Gaspar). Lendas da India na "Collecção dos monumentos ineditos da Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa." Lisboa, 1858.

Campos (Ayres de). Indice chronologico dos pergaminhos e foraes existentes no Archivo da Camara Municipal de Coimbra. Coimbra, 1875.

—— Indices e Summarios dos livros e documentos mais antigos e importantes do Archivo da Camara Municipal de Coimbra. Coimbra, 1867.

Castro (D. Adolpho de). História de los judios en España. Cadiz, 1847.

Costa (Dr. Isaac da). Israel and the Gentiles. Contributions to the history of the Jews from the earliest times to the present day. London, MDCCCL.

Cardoso (Yshac). Las Excelencias de los Hebreos. Amsterdam en casa de David de Castro Tartas. 1679.

Corrêa (Pedro Lobo). Vid. Torregonsillo.

Dinis (F.). História de Portugal. Lisboa. 8 voll.

Drumont (E.). La France juive; essai d'histoire contemporaine. Paris.

—— La fin d'un monde. Paris, 1889.

—— La dernière bataille. Paris, 1890.

—— Le testament d'un anti-sémite. Paris, 1891.

Desportes (Henri). Le mystère du sang. Paris, 1889.

Fernandez y Gonzalez (Dr. Francisco). Instituciones jurídicas del Pueblo de Israel en los diferentes Estados de la Península desde su dispersion en tiempo del Emperador Adriano hasta los principios del siglo XVI. Madrid, 1881.

Freire (J. Mello). Historia Juris Civilis Lusitani. Conimbricae, 1860.

—— Institutiones Juris Criminalis Lusitani. Conimbricae, 1829.

—— Institutiones Juris Civilis Lusitani, lib. iv. Conimbricae, 1823.

Florez (E.). España Sagrada. Madrid, 1754.

Gordo (Ferreira). Memorias da Academia. t. 8º, parte 2ª.

Goes (Damião de). Chronica do Serenissimo Senhor rei D. Manuel. Lisboa, 1874. 1 vol.

Gama (Arnaldo). A ultima Dona de S. Nicolau (episodio da história do Porto no seculo XV). Porto, 1865.

Herculado (A.). Historia de Portugal. Lisboa, 3ª ed.

—— Da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal. Lisboa, 1854.

Héfélé (Charles-Joseph). Histoire générale des conciles. Paris, 1869.

Jacobs (Joseph). Sources of Spanish Jewish History. London, 1894.

Juromenha (Visconde de). Cintra pinturesca ou memoria descriptiva da villa de Cintra, Collares e seus arredores. Lisboa, 1838. 1 vol.

Kayserling. Christoph Columbus und der Antheil der Juden an den spanischen und portugiesischen Entdeckungen. Berlin, 1894. 1 vol.

There is an English edition: Christopher Columbus and the participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. Chicago, 1894.

Kayserling. Geschichte der Juden in Portugal. Leipsic, 1867. 1 vol.

—— Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica. Strasbourg, 1890.

Leroy Beaulieu (Anatole). Israel chez les nations. 1893.

Lafuente (D. Modesto). História general de España desde los tiempos primitivos hasta la muerte de Fernando VII. Barcelona, 1887–90. 25 voll.

Lopes (Fernam). Chronica del Rey D. Fernando na "Collecção de . . . ineditos da história portuguêsa da Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa." t. iv. 1 vol.

Loeb (Is.). Réflexions sur les Juifs. Paris, 1893.

—— Le Juif de l'histoire et le Juif de la légende. Paris, 1890.

—— Dict. univ. de géographie, par M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, verb. "Juif." Paris, 1884.

Lindo (E. H.). The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal. London, 1848. 1 vol.

Lombroso (C.). L'Antisemitismo e le scienze moderne. Torino-Roma, 1894.

Maris (Pedro de). Dialogos de vária historia. Lisboa, 1749.

Monteiro (Fr. Pedro). História da Santa inquisição do reino de Portugal e suas conquistas. Lisboa, 1749.

Martins (Oliveira). História da civilisação iberica. Lisboa, 1885.

—— História de Portugal. Lisboa, 1879.

—— Os filhos de D. João I. Lisboa, 1891.

Mocatta (Federico David). Gli Ebrei della Spagna e del Portogallo e l'inquisizione, traduzione dall' inglese di Salomone. De Benedetti. Napoli, 1887.

Menasseh (Ben Israel de). Origen de los Americanos. Esto es Esperanza de Israel, reimpresion á plana y renglon del libro de Menasseh ben Israel, teólogo y filósofo hebreo, sobre el origen de los Americanos, publicado en Amsterdam 5410 (1650), con un preámbulo, una noticia biográfica de las principales obras que sobre las orígenes, história y conquistas de America y Asia se han impreso, y el retrato y la biografia del autor por Santiago Perez Junquera. Madrid, 1881.

—— Thesovro dos Dinim que o povo de Israel he obrigado saber, e observar. Composto por Menasseh ben Israel. Amsterdam, Anno 5740.

Mosseaux (Gougenot Des). Le Juif, le Judaïsme et la Judaïsation des peuples chrétiens. Paris, 1869.

Machado (Diogo Barbosa). Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica, Critica e Chronologica. Lisboa, 1741–59. 4 voll.

Mariana (P. Juan de). História general de España. Madrid, 1849.

Mattos (Vicente da Costa). Breve Discurso contra a Heretica perfidia do Judaismo, continuada nos presentes apostatas de nossa Santa Fẽ, com o que conuem a expulsão dos delinquẽtes nella dos Reynos de Sua Magestade com suas molheres & filhos; cõforme a Escriptura sagrada, Sãtos Padres, Direito Ciuil, & Canonico, & muitos dos politicos. A Dom Antonio Luis de Meneses Marquez de Marialva, Conde de Cantanhede &c. Em Lisboa por Diogo Soares de Bulhoens. Acusta de Antonio Pereira. Anno 1668.

Malzevin (Théophile). Histoire des Juifs à Bordeaux. Bordeaux, 1875. 1 vol.

Osorius (Hieronymus). De rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae invictissimi. Conimbricae, M.DCC.LXXXXI.

Ordenações Affonsinas. Livro 2º, passim.

Oliveira (Eduardo Freire de). Elementos para a história do Municipio de Lisboa. 1ª parte, Lisboa, 1882.

Penboch' (J. de). Demain: réponse à "La fin d'un monde" de Ed. Drumont. Paris, 1889.

Panorama. Varios tomos.

Pelayo (D. Menendez). Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles. Madrid, 1880.

Portugaliae monumenta historica.

Piccioto (James). Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History. London, 1875.

Piza (Jeudah). Zibhe Jeudah, Dinim de Sehita & Bedica. Composto por Jeudah Piza. Em Amsterdam, Anno 5500.

Rezende (Garcia de). Chronica dos valerosos e insignes feitos del rey Dom João II. Coimbra, 1798. 1 vol.

Rocha (M. A. Coelho da). Ensaio sobre a historia do governo e da legislação em Portugal para servir de introducção á historia do Direito Patrio. 6ª ed., 1887.

Reinach (Théodore). Histoire des Israélites depuis l'époque de leur dispersion jusqu'à nos jours. Paris, 1884. 1 vol.

—— La Grande Encyclopédie, verb. "Juifs." (Em via de publicação.)

Rios (D. José Amador de los). Historia social, politica y religiosa de los Judios en España y Portugal. 3 voll. Madrid, 1875–76.

—— Estudios históricos, políticos y litterarios sobre los Judios de España. 1 vol. Madrid, 1848.

Rohling (Auguste). Le Juif selon le Talmud. Paris, 1889.

Ribeiro (J. Pedro). Reflexões historicas. Coimbra, 1835.

—— Extracto de huma memoria sobre a tolerancia dos Judeus e Mouros em Portugal. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1821.

—— Analyzes expostas na Cadeira de Vesporas de Canones da Uni-

versidade de Coimbra no anno de 1788 para 1789. MS. No. 420 do Arch. da Bibliotheca da Universidade.

Rossi (Joh. Bernardi de-). De Typographia Hebraeo-Ferrariensi commentarius historicus quo Ferrarienses Judaeorum editiones Hebraicae, Hispanicae, Lusitanae recensentur et illustrantur. Parmae, ex Regio Typographeo, M.DCC.LXXX. 1 vol.

—— Dizionario storico degli autori Ebrei e delle sacre opere disteso dal Dottore G. B. De-Rossi. 2 voll. Parmae, dalla Reale Stamperia, 1802.

Semana. Jornal litterario, 1850–51.

Silva (L. A. Rebello da). Historia de Portugal nos seculos XVII e XVIII. Lisboa, 1860–71.

Sylva (José Soares da). Memorias para a historia de Portugal que comprehendem o governo del Rey D. João o I. Lisboa, 1730–34. 4 voll.

Santarem (Visconde de). Quadro elementar, t. 9º. Lisboa, 1864.

—— Memorias para a historia, e theoria das Cortes geraes, que em Portugal se celebrárão pelos tres Estados do Reino, ordenadas e compostas no anno de 1824 pelo 2º Visconde de Santarem. Lisboa, 1828. 1 vol. em duas partes.

—— Alguns documentos para servirem de provas á parte 1ª das Memorias, etc. Lisboa, 1828.

—— Alguns documentos para servirem de provas á parte 2ª das Memorias, etc. Lisboa, 1828

Saraiva (Cardeal). Obras completas do ... precedidas duma introducção pelo Marquez de Rezende, publicadas por Antonio Correia Caldeira. Lisboa, 1872. Vol. 1º e 5º.

Schaefer (Doutor Henrique). Historia de Portugal, versão de F. de Assis Lopes, continuada por Pereira Sampaio (Bruno). (Em via de publicação.)

Santos (A. Ribeiro dos). Memorias da litteratura sagrada dos judeus portuguezes nos seculos XV a XVIII nas "Memorias da Litteratura Portugueza," t. ii e iii.

—— Ensaios de huma bibliotheca lusitana anti-rabbinica, ou Memorial dos escriptores portuguezes que escreverão de controversia anti-judaica, nas "Mem. de Litt. Portugueza," t. vii.

Torregonsillo (Fr. Francisco de). Centinella contra Judeos posta em a Torre da Igreja de Deos, offerecida a Virgem S. N., traduzida em portuguez por Pedro Lobo Corrêa, escrivão da Contadoria Geral de Guerra e Reyno. Lisboa, na Officina de João Galvão M.DC.LXXXIV.

Usque (Samuel). Consolaçam. as Tribvlacoens de Ysrael compostas por Samvel Vsque. 5313. Da Criaçam. 27, de Setembro. 1 vol.

Vieira (Pe Antonio). Obras ineditas, t. 1º e 2º. Lisboa, 1856.

Viterbo (Fr. J. Santa Rosa de). Elucidario das palavras, termos e phrases, etc. Lisboa, 1798-99. 2 voll.

Valbert (M. G.). Les Juifs allemands et leurs ennemis. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 março, 1882.

—— La Question des Juifs en Allemagne. Id., 1 março, 1880.

Anonymo. Apologia em abono dos christãos cognominados novos deste reyno de Portugal; dedicada a santidade de Vrbano VIII, Pontifice supremo, 1624. MS. pertencente ao snr. Joaquim Martins de Carvalho.

AUTO DE FE AND JEW

ADLER